Vol. 42 No. 18 SEPTEMBER 17, 1990 49145 $1.95

INSIDE KUWAIT

The Borders of Iraq: Let's Talk Turkey

NATIONAL REVIEW

YESTERDAY'S *ENEMY?*

REAL THREATS TO AMERICA'S DEFENSE

ALSO

GAY RIGHTS OR CLOSET VIRTUES?

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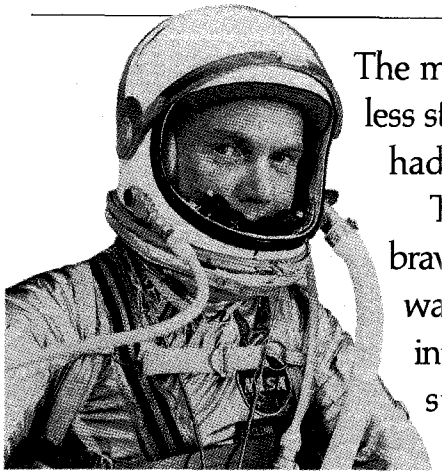
THEY SAY IT'S GOING TO FLY. OF COURSE, THEY AREN'T GOING.



On February 20, 1962, the Atlas of Friendship 7 boosted the first American, John Glenn, into Earth orbit. His historic flight was the 117th for an Atlas.

The machine had stainless steel skin. The men had steel nerves.

The men were the brave Americans who waited, strapped into a cramped capsule atop 125 tons of explosive fuel, to be blasted into orbit.

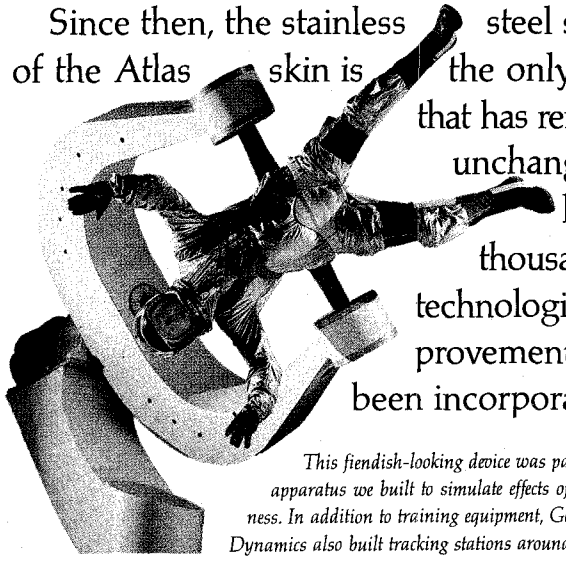
The machine was originally America's first intercontinental ballistic missile, developed by General Dynamics in the early 1950s, and for nearly 10 years the free world's major deterrent weapon.

The men were the Mercury astronauts.

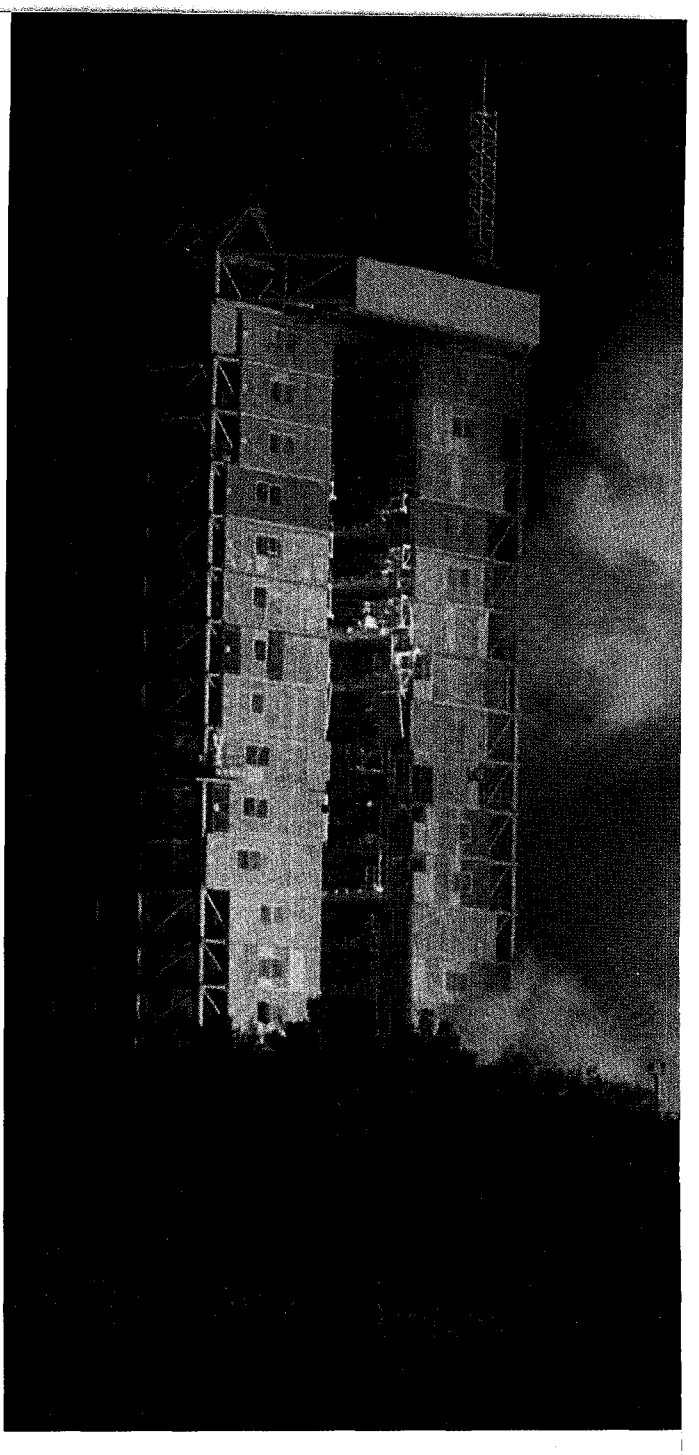
The machine was our Atlas rocket.

Their histories merged in the early 1960s, when General Dynamics began reconfiguring Atlas to launch payloads into space for the Air Force and NASA.

Since then, the stainless steel sheen of the Atlas skin is the only thing that has remained unchanged, as literally thousands of technological improvements have been incorporated.



This fiendish-looking device was part of the apparatus we built to simulate effects of weightlessness. In addition to training equipment, General Dynamics also built tracking stations around the globe.



Atlas has boosted virtually every U.S. weather satellite. In December 1958, it boosted the world's first communications satellite, Project Score, which circled the globe broadcasting President Eisenhower's Christmas message. Atlas went on to launch 36 more communications satellites, and dozens of scientific probes, including Pioneer, Mariner, and Surveyor, the first American spacecraft to soft-land on the moon.

With a record of 496 launches, our Atlas is one of America's most successful and reliable launch systems.

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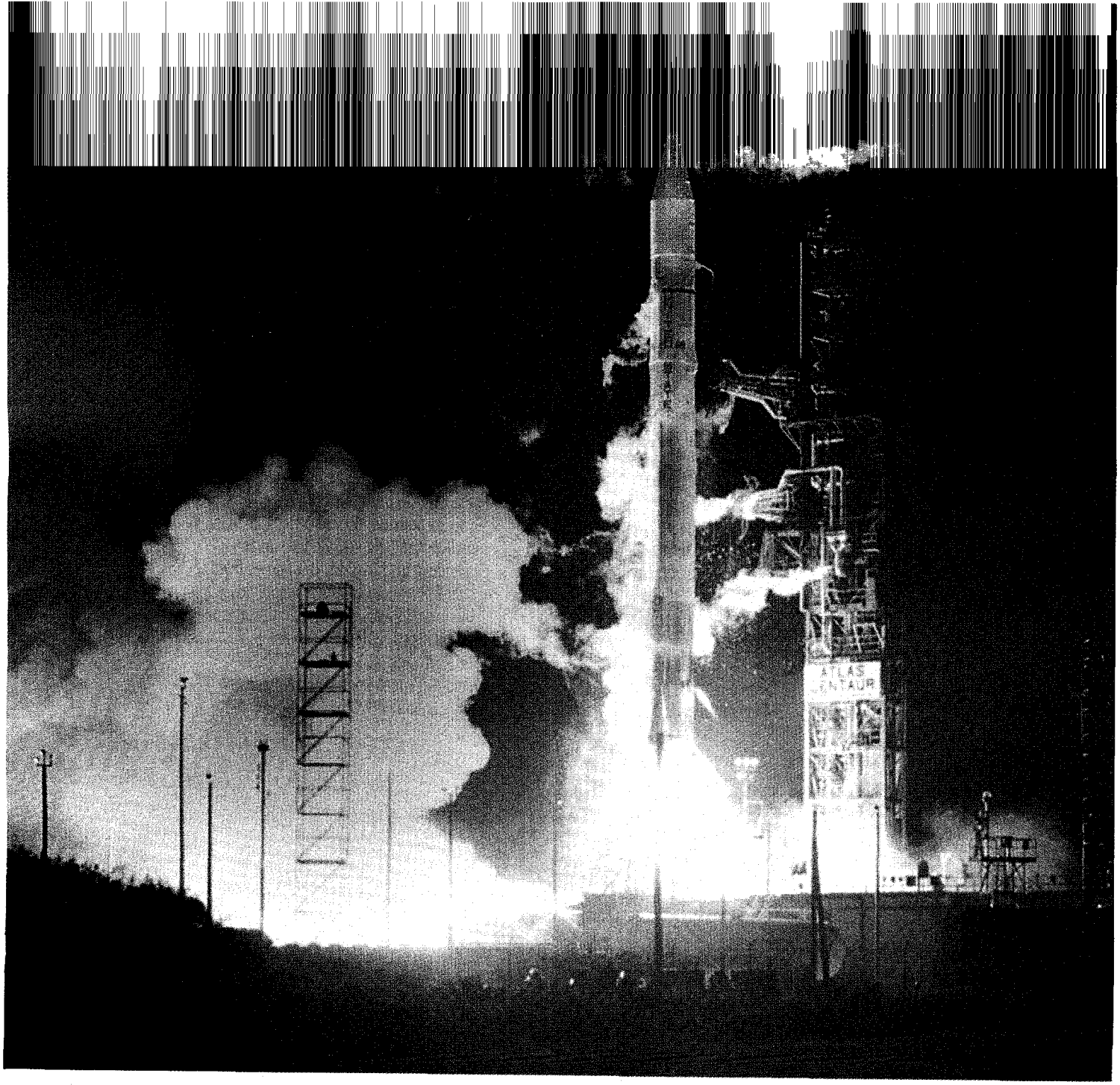

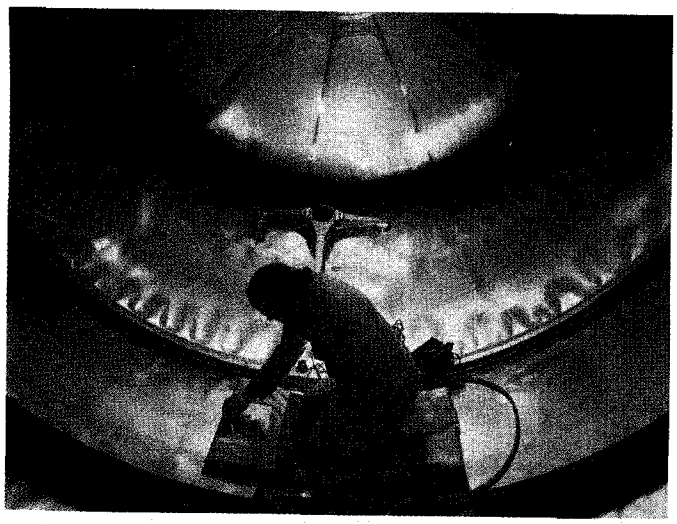

Inside the stainless steel skin of a Centaur upper stage, one of our craftsmen measures expansion and contraction stress. Unique technology makes the Atlas/Centaur the most efficient launch vehicle in use today.

Our 30-plus years of experience and the dedication to excellence of the Atlas team are especially important now.

In one of the largest commercial space ventures in history, General Dynamics has committed to the production of 62 new Atlas vehicles for government and business missions.

For over three decades, Atlas has made history in space.

And paid dividends here on Earth.

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You can do business in Japan without shelling out a fortune.

For many companies, the biggest barrier to new markets has been the cost of business trips. Restaurants can be expensive, and even the smallest accommodations may carry oversized bills. Yet those willing to be a little adventurous will find that traveling comfortably in Japan doesn't require packing a suitcase full of yen.

Hop on the bus.

A $20 bus ride from Narita Airport may not strike you as a bargain, but compared to a $150 taxi, it is. The buses marked "Airport Limousine" stop at all the major hotels in Tokyo.

Sleep cheap.

Business hotels are a fairly new phenomenon. Catering primarily to Japanese businessmen, they're clean, functional, and conveniently located. Although vending machines replace amenities like room service, at $40 to $50 a night these hotels are a sound investment. Two major chains are the Tokyu Inn (tel. 03/406-0109) and the Washington (tel. 03/434-5211).

Food for naught.

It should come as no surprise that you'll save money eating where the locals eat. Good and reasonably priced restaurants can be found in department stores and the basements of office buildings. At lunch, ask for *teishoku*. It means special of the day, and includes rice, miso soup, salad, meat or fish, and dessert—all for around five dollars. *Ramenya* and *sobaya* (noodle shops) are perfect places for a quick and tasty meal.

Northwest notes.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 17, 1990 VOL. XLII, NO. 18

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The Left claims homosexuals as natural allies—but politics doesn't make bedfellows quite as strange as that, says **Thomas Short**. They would be more comfortable with Tory tolerance.

Books, Arts & Manners

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The Audit Bureau

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LETTERS

Issues v. Agendas

Tom Bethell's article on David Duke ["The Hazards of David Duke," "On the Scene," Aug. 20] misses the point so completely as almost to make Mr. Duke a hero. Mr. Bethell is correct in noting that most of Mr. Duke's campaign issues are ones on which most Republicans should be proud to run. That very fact, however, is what makes him so dangerous to the conservative movement.

Mr. Duke is using the words of conservative philosophy to mask an ideology which is inimical to the liberty which conservatives cherish. Mr. Duke is a glib demagogue, as far from being a conservative as are Communists. Two years ago, Mr. Duke was the presidential candidate of a radical third party, with a known leader of the neo-Nazi movement as his campaign manager. Just last year he was selling rare Nazi ideological tracts from his office. He even told a Louisiana Republican State Central Committeewoman that Jews were the spawn of Satan.

In the past 15 months Duke has at least twice in public advocated a eugenics program in which the government would use tax dollars to pay for "voluntary" sterilizations for people with IQs under a hundred, and to guarantee low-interest loans for high-IQ people to induce them to breed more children.

Mr. Bethell also failed to note that Mr. Duke was beaten overwhelmingly (he received less than 4 per cent of nearly seven hundred delegate votes) in the wide-open caucus/convention system in which the Louisiana Republican Party endorsed State Senator Ben Bagert in the race against U.S. Senator J. Bennett Johnston.

NATIONAL REVIEW has done a disservice to conservatives by publishing a virtual "puff-piece" for a radical ideologue who is using it as publicity to gain conservative votes and money.

Haywood H. Hillyer III
Republican National Committeeman
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Duke is using not merely publicity, but legitimate issues such as the equal application of the laws and welfare reform to gain support. Louisiana Republicans might consider using these issues to defeat a Democratic senator. —TB

Latvian Thanks

We want to express our thanks for Richard Langworth's article on Latvia ["The Once and Future Republic," July 9]. As Latvians we are so happy to read such an article, without mistakes, without fiction.

For many years no one was interested in us, no one ever cared why we became displaced persons, moved from one camp to another. No one knew what we suffered under Communism, losing all relatives, innocent people sent to the wilderness of Siberia. It was easier to become a displaced person, leaving property, friends, and country, than to wait for a knock at the door in the night.

We thank you for helping us in our fight for freedom. Your article was copied and sent all around the world to people who have been so good to us.

Elsa and Alex Liepa
Chicago, Ill.

Christian Reality

Jared Lobdell's review of Frank Peretti's novels was a low blow at evangelicals ["Books, Arts & Manners," Aug. 20]. Mr. Lobdell characterizes us as people with "an appetite for stories that take the Bible literally: angels, demons, and all." Did it occur to him that the Judaeo-Christian tradition that seems to underlie *NR* (usually) is rooted in the conviction that God revealed himself to humanity, often in miraculous ways?

I am not a Peretti reader, but I know many. Some get up on Saturday morning to gather at their local abortion mill, where they risk getting the hell knocked out of them by police who are impressed neither by the intellectual sophistication of *NR* nor by the moral fervor of people who are primitive enough to take the Bible literally.

Stephen Lang
Chesapeake, Va.

Whom Is the NEA Funding?

The controversies over tax-supported pornography at the National Endowment for the Arts have obscured a much more alarming development at the NEA ["On the Right," July 19]. Projected budgets for FY1992, at a variety of funding levels, indicate that, for the first time, a larger proportion of the agency's budget will support the infrastructure of the arts than the artists themselves. Somewhat under 50 per cent—approximately 47 per cent in one projection—of the agency's budget will go to the artists; more than half of the budget—about 53 per cent in the same projection—will pay for support activities: organizations that serve the arts, conferences for mayors to meet and talk about the arts, not to mention the NEA's own overhead.

So the social issue really is the side show; the main event is just how much direct and immediate good the NEA does for the working artists, obscene or otherwise.

Jacob Neusner
Member, National Council on the Arts
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Disentangling Farewell Addresses

NATIONAL REVIEW mistakenly accuses George Washington of warning America against "entangling alliances" ["Come Home, America?" "The Week," Aug. 20]. In his Farewell Address, President Washington wrote: "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world . . ." After all, it was an entangling alliance with France that enabled America to win the Battle of Yorktown, and the war. It was Thomas Jefferson who said, in his first Inaugural Address, "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

Bruno J. Rolak
Houston, Tex.

Correction

Mr. Ben C. Toledano asks us to correct a misimpression that crept into his article, "Judge Not" [Aug. 20], in the course of editing. Jack Gordon, whom Mr. Toledano was nominated to succeed, had been a U.S. district judge, but just before his death had been chosen for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. It was that latter seat for which Mr. Toledano was nominated. He writes: "For only one reason does it matter that the correct judgeship be mentioned. Since the article was written by Ben C. Toledano, he should know the judgeship for which he was under consideration. If he didn't know, then he clearly was mentally unqualified for the appointment from the word go. I'm not saying he was otherwise qualified, I'm just saying he knew and still knows what judgeship it was." —LB

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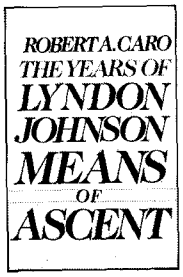

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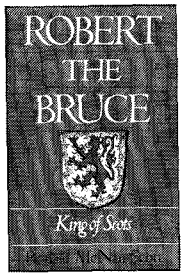

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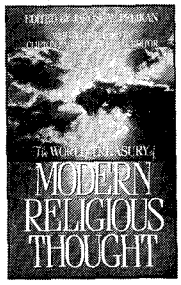

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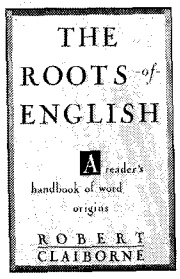

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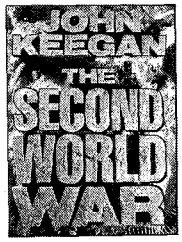

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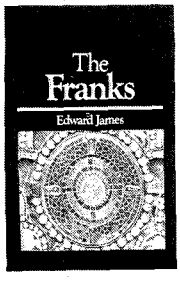

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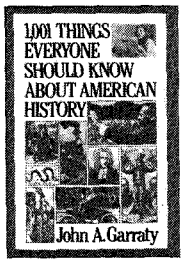

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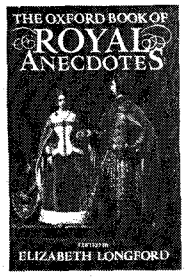

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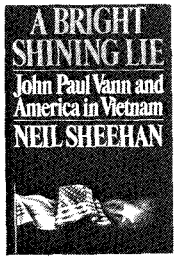

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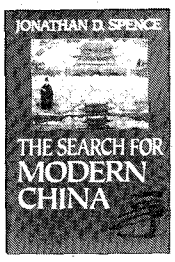

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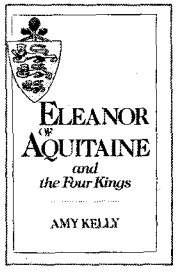

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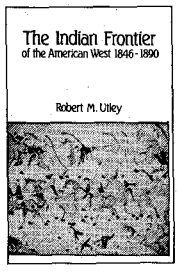

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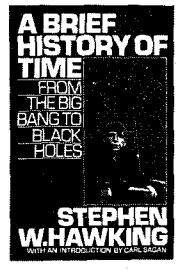

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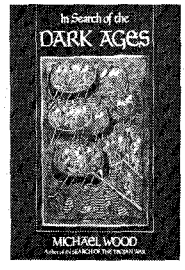

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Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*

FROM THE EDITOR

Cold Water on Troubled Oil

■ Q: How many Poles does it take to screw in a light bulb?

A: None. The market will do it.

As the latest Warsaw joke illustrates, the soundest theories go wrong if exaggerated to the point where they become magical incantations rather than descriptions of reality. Consider, for instance, the theories being employed by conservatives to justify inaction toward Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait.

Some conservatives suggest that we rely on free-market forces to defeat the Iraqi dictator. Certainly, Saddam's power to hike oil prices, if ever employed, would prove temporary. As events since 1973 show, a sharp price rise produces a recession, an oil glut, and a sharper price fall in succession. But the inescapable cost of this policy is a world recession. That, after all, is how it works. In addition, it is likely that the entire cycle will be repeated in, say, 15 years when the memory of the then Iraqi dictator is overwhelmed by his pressing need for cash. A world recession every two decades is not exactly a policy.

Still, responding to aggression with market forces is at least wiser than the policy, embraced by some conservatives and almost all liberals, of not *needing* Arab oil in the first place. We should apparently use more expensive domestic oil or other fuels instead. If that were done, the U.S. would be buying energy "independence" at the cost of general uncompetitiveness. True, we would be competitive at those points in the cycle when an Iraqi-led OPEC had succeeded in temporarily raising the world price of oil. But what is the point of a policy that, in order to avoid temporary price hikes, raises the price permanently?

Of course, the crisis is also about stopping aggression, defending U.S. allies, and deterring international anarchy. To such anxieties, libertarians have a ready answer: the balance of power. Saddam's threats will provoke a coalition of nervous neighbors to check him. Outside intervention will only get in the way.

Now, the balance of power is a useful concept. But its scope alters as nations rise and fall. For several centuries the British maintained a balance of power on the continent by manipulating intra-European rivalries. But Hitler in 1940 had accumulated such overwhelming force that he could no longer be stopped by a local coalition. Containing him and, later, Stalin required the United States. Saddam enjoys a comparable overlordship in the Middle East, which can only be balanced by U.S. intervention.

But suppose this analysis to be mistaken and Iraq vulnerable to a coalition of hostile neighbors. That merely invites a more formidable objection. Since Iraq is acquiring nuclear weapons, a coalition would presumably have to acquire them as well. So this policy, insofar as it is serious, avoids outside intervention by relying on local nuclear wars to solve disputes.

If that logic is understandably shirked, we can express the libertarian balance of power thus:

Q: How many nations does it take to halt an aggressive dictator?

A: None. The balance of power will do it.

■ Every column should include an error, thus generating the material for another column. Guided (unknowingly) by this logic, I wrongly attributed Max Beerbohm's short story "The Happy Hypocrite" to Oscar Wilde in the last issue. Correcting the error enables me to revive one of Wilde's lesser-known epigrams.

He is alleged to have once asked whether Beerbohm, who was polished beyond perfection, ever took off his face and revealed his mask. The same conceit coincidentally forms the basis of "The Happy Hypocrite": that a mask can become the face if worn long and sincerely enough (or, as Wilde would have put it, insincerely enough).

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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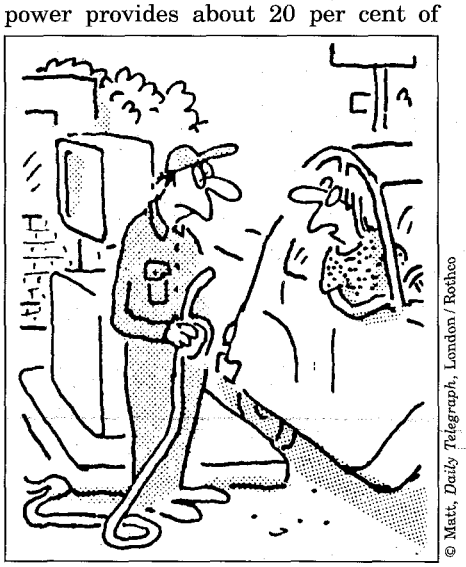
ON THE RECORD

■ "I think we are poised to make political history in Massachusetts," said an elated **Steven Pierce** last week. Pierce, the GOP gubernatorial nominee (he will win the September 18 primary), was buoyed by poll that shows him leading all three Democratic gubernatorial contenders. It is Pierce 45 to 42 over front-running former Attorney General **Frank Bellotti**; Pierce 41 to 39 over Boston U. President **John Silber**, Pierce 52 to 33 over Lt. Gov. **Evelyn Murphy**. (Most recent, August 8/9 poll of Democrats has Bellotti over Silber 36 to 29.) . . . As extraordinary is recent Tarrance & Associates poll that shows **Jim Rappaport**, the leading Mass. GOP senatorial candidate, within striking distance of liberal Democratic Sen. **John Kerry**. With ten weeks still to go, Rappaport has moved up to 36 per cent, to Kerry's 51. And the Tarrance poll shows as many Mass. voters favoring a Republican in the Senate as a Democrat—heady news for the long-battered GOP in the Bay State. . . . Another race to watch in Massachusetts: challenge by conservative Republican state legislator **John McGovern** to Rep. **Chester Atkins** in the 5th CD. Atkins has cumulative ACU rating of 1 per cent, ADA rating of 100. Republicans didn't bother to field candidate against him in 1988. . . . In Connecticut gubernatorial race, **Lowell Weicker** grudgingly produced his financial statement under the goading of political opponents who had disclosed theirs. Weicker withheld some data from copious material (98 pages listing trusts he benefits from), exasperatedly gave as reason that he didn't feel any obligation to let ex-wife number one know how much ex-wife number two is getting in alimony, and vice versa. (How much would it cost Conn. to take out policy with **Lloyd's** against Weicker's being elected?) . . . In mid-August Wyoming primary, Republican Senate Whip **Alan K. Simpson** got 84 per cent of vote; Wyoming Republicans also picked former Gov. and Sen. **Cliff Hansen**'s daughter **Mary Mead** to oppose Gov. **Mike Sullivan**. . . . Looking good, chance for Republican takeover of Senate seat in Hawaii, where GOP Rep. **Pat Saiki** is running ahead of appointed Democratic Sen. **Daniel Akaka**, 43 to 35 per cent. . . . And in Colorado, *Rocky Mountain News* poll shows GOP Rep. **Hank Brown** at 54 to 26 over Democrat **Josie Heath**, for seat Republican **Bill Armstrong** is relinquishing.

■ Middle Eastern repercussions: Interior Secretary **Manuel Lujan** pushing to permit oil exploration in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, where it is now banned. White House chief of staff **John Sununu** in Lujan's corner on this one. . . . Seabrook nuclear reactor in New Hampshire, now in full-scale operation after years of harassment by environmentalists, is generating heat for one million homes, eliminating need for 1.5 million barrels of oil a month. **Ted Feigenbaum** of New Hampshire Yankee, which operates Seabrook, says Iraqi invasion of Kuwait makes it "painfully clear that New England must immediately begin vigorous development of alternative . . . energy sources." . . . Nuclear power provides about 20 per cent of America's electricity, 75 per cent of France's. . . . Odd discrepancy: Latest ABC/*Washington Post* indicates 60 per cent of Americans expect a war with Iraq; only 36 per cent of those questioned by *Time*/CNN poll found war "likely." . . . So what's new? **Ramsey Clark** opposes President **Bush**'s Mideast policy: "I think it was a serious mistake for the United States to place its military in Saudi Arabia," says Clark, echoing SANE/Freeze's **Nick Carter**: "We were quick, too quick, to move to a military solution." (Contributions to SANE/Freeze are down 15 to 20 per cent since fall of Berlin Wall.) . . . In Britain, 90 per cent approve **Margaret Thatcher**'s decision to send 24 Royal Air Force Tornado and Jaguar jets to Persian Gulf, and Brits are 4 to 1 in favor of war if **Saddam Hussein** attacks Saudi Arabia. . . . Second thoughts: **Yasir Arafat**'s support of Baghdad could cost him future millions from Saudi treasury, a major PLO financial supporter in the past. . . . Which may be why Libya's **Muammar el-Qaddafi** has condemned Hussein's hostage-taking.



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"Four gallons of unleaded non-Iraqi, please."

■ Troubles continue to mount for **Mikhail Gorbachev**. The Russian Republic's Communist Party lost 162,750 members in the month of June alone. . . . The Red Army is also taking a beating. According to Soviet sources, only 26 per cent of this year's conscripts showed up by June, and local authorities are slow to crack down on draft dodgers. . . . Now the Kremlin is begging exiled author **Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn** please to come home. "Your return to Russia," Prime Minister **Ivan Silayev** of the Russian Republic wrote Solzhenitsyn last week, "would, in my opinion, be an act as necessary as air to our homeland." . . . Former Soviet henchmen are taking their knocks. Chilean government has refused to permit former East German Communist boss **Erich Honecker** to visit his daughter, currently living in Chile. . . . And no U.S. TV network seems anxious to secure rights to broadcast next August's Pan-American Games in **Fidel Castro**'s Cuba.

■ No More Mr. Nice Guy: *Christian Science Monitor* says Saddam Hussein is charging families of army deserters for cost of bullets used in execution of their sons and fathers.

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THE WEEK

■ Rough town, Baghdad. If you want a friend there, take a hostage.

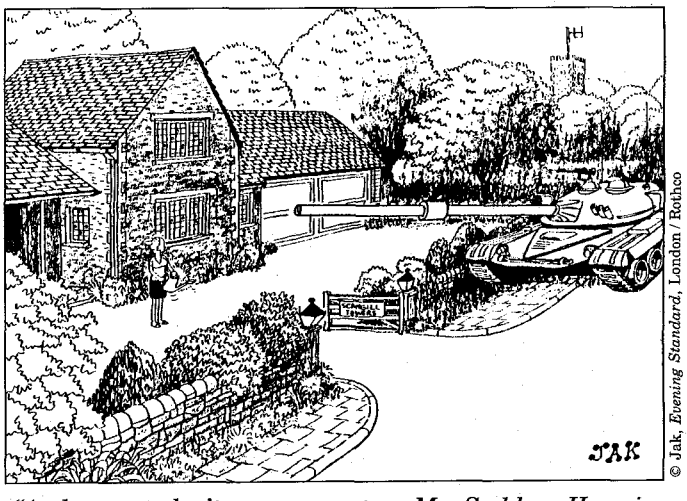
■ Dan Rather, Sam Donaldson, Tom Brokaw, Ted Koppel, Forrest Sawyer, Garrick Utley, and Harry Smith went to Baghdad. Saddam Hussein let them all go free—an act of such glowering malice that it shall not be forgiven for seventy times seven years.

■ Federal tax receipts are running far below expectations, and the slowing economy is only partially to blame. According to the *Wall Street Journal* many businesses are electing subchapter S status to avoid the increased corporate-income-tax burdens built into the 1986 tax act. Investors have delayed taking capital gains in expectation of a lower tax rate. Payroll taxes are coming in below estimates, presumably because the government's revenue model failed to anticipate the tax avoidance and outright evasion that accompany higher tax rates. But our favorite example of a supply-side tax effect during this budget season is from New Jersey. On July 1 Governor James Florio extended the state's 7 per cent sales tax to heavy trucks and parts. The truck tax was expected to yield $44 million. In fact, truck sales promptly died: on July 24 more than two dozen of the state's heavy-truck dealers reported selling only 12 trucks in the previous three weeks, compared to 702 in the same period last year. To the chagrin of truck dealers in New York and Pennsylvania (where truck sales have been booming) Mr. Florio is reportedly contemplating rescinding the tax.

■ Proposition 128 ("Big Green") is the latest and most comprehensive of California's legislative ballot initiatives. If passed, BG would 1) eliminate the use or importation of fruits grown with pesticides that carry any trace of carcinogen; 2) reduce carbon-dioxide emissions 20 per cent over ten years, 40 per cent over twenty years; 3) prohibit the use of chemicals that have a "negative effect on the ozone layer"; 4) end private clear-cutting of forests; 5) impose a 25-cent-per-barrel fee on oil shipped through California—and the list goes on. The pesticide ban would result in higher prices at the store, and an end to the importing of winter fruits from South America in the winter—grapes, citrus, apples, among others—while inviting bugs to rampage through native crops. Cutting carbon-dioxide output 20 per cent means raising gasoline prices by as much as 50 cents per gallon, and necessitating alternative forms of energy for homes and businesses. To add a bureaucratic nightmare to an economic disaster, Big Green calls for an environment czar with a $40-million annual budget. Activist and state assemblyman Tom Hayden is the point man for Proposition 128. Farmers, foresters, and businessmen seek to take advantage of his unpopularity in much of the state by labeling the proposition the Hayden Initiative, hoping to give it the fundamentalist label that it so richly deserves. But BG boasts a 60 per cent favorable rating in the polls. Prediction: If it carries, four years from now it will be repealed—overwhelmingly.

■ Senator Joe Biden, the Delaware Democrat, has been spreading the story that he was cleared of plagiarism charges at Syracuse University law school in 1965. "I never plagiarized in law school," he said flatly to a C-SPAN interviewer the other day. Sorry, Joe. The *Washington Times* jumped on Biden's story and ran photostats of three passages as they appeared in both the *Fordham Law Review* (May 1965) and Biden's term paper (October 1965). Practically identical. Adds reporter George Archibald: "More than half of Mr. Biden's supposed original research consisted of almost verbatim material from the law-journal article, with a few interspersed sentences of his own." Biden also changed the numeration of the footnotes to make it appear that he himself had gathered the citations. His problem is not that he plagiarized in 1965 and 1988 (Neil Kinnock was the impostee in the latter case), but that he's still peddling fabrications in 1990.

■ The media's focus on South Africa has shifted from negotiations between F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela to fighting in the black townships. The Zulus' legendary status as warriors is a disadvantage in the PR wars: they are accused of launching



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"Arthur, you don't owe money to a Mr. Saddam Hussein as well, do you?"

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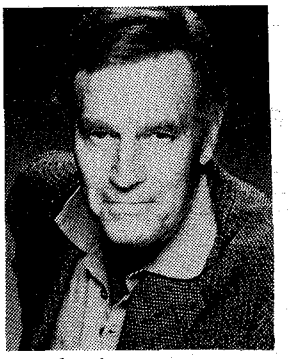

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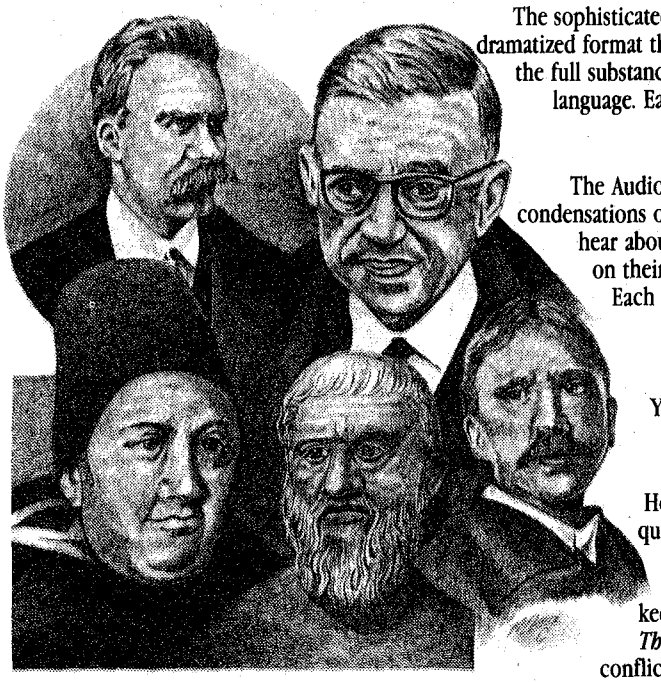

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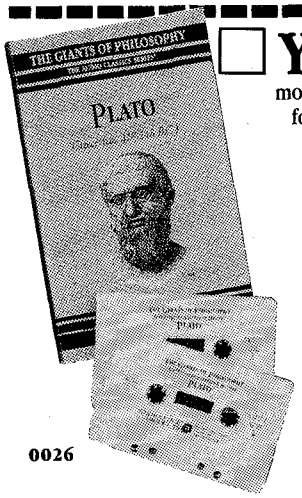

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unprovoked attacks on peaceable Xhosas (Mr. Mandela's tribe). There is obviously traditional tribal enmity at work here, but two complicating points in recent South African history are worth bearing in mind: 1) For the past several years in Natal, Zulus loyal to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been attacked ruthlessly—hundreds have died this year alone—by the United Democratic Front. The UDF isn't itself Xhosa—it is composed largely of radicalized Zulu youth—but it is strongly linked to Mr. Mandela's ANC. It was in these wars that the infamous necklacings were popularized, as a means for radical "comrades" to discipline blacks whom they denominated "collaborators." 2) Soon after Nelson Mandela's release from prison, he called upon UDF members to throw their weapons into the sea. Chief Buthelezi, on the strength of this statement, invited Mr. Mandela to join him at a public meeting in Natal so that the two could call for peace together. Mr. Mandela initially accepted, then changed his mind under pressure from the ANC leadership. Buthelezi has now again proposed such a joint effort; Mandela is refusing, and the youth wing of the ANC has issued a statement accusing Buthelezi of having engineered the violence in order to raise his own stature by appearing side by side with Mandela. Meanwhile, there have been no comments from American sanctioneers on President de Klerk's politically risky, but evidently necessary, decision to reimpose a limited state of emergency in an effort to diminish the bloodshed.

■ The FMLN rebels and the Salvadoran government failed last month to agree on a ceasefire. The FMLN demands reform in the military following the murder last year of six Jesuit priests. The government replies that this demand is intended only to break up the army and weaken the country's defense. The U.S. has been aiding the government's efforts to hold off the Marxist rebels, who are heavily supported by Cuba and to some extent by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. For the rebels, meanwhile, negotiating is simply a method to build political bridges: See, we really want peace, but those bullies won't budge. If negotiating means compromising, there should be none. The only way the rebels should receive even a stitch of recognition is by letting the people decide in an election, of which five have been held successfully in the last decade in El Salvador.

■ It isn't as if the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a bolt out of the blue. In 1961, the British went to the rescue of Kuwait when it was threatened with annexation by another Iraqi tyrant, General Karim Kassem. The British reacted before the fact—enabled to do so by Kassem, who broadcast (literally) his ambitions—and sent the marines, tanks, and the navy, including two carriers. Although there was an initial uproar, the Arab states quickly realized this move was in their best interests, and supported it. The show of force stayed Iraq's hand until Kassem was overthrown and the crisis passed. We can learn from the book in which the incident is most carefully chronicled, James Cable's *Gunboat Diplomacy*, to act at a "moment most auspicious."

■ Oh. By the way. The government and people of Colombia are sore at us over the virtual acquittal of Marion Barry on drug charges. One Colombian official says his government was "astounded" by the verdict. His country's judges have "put their lives on the line approving extradition" of drug dealers, and the U.S.'s most conspicuous cocaine consumer walks. The Colombians seem to feel that this makes a mockery of their sacrifices in the War on Drugs. We should explain to them how our criminal-justice system works, and the next time we need help, they, in turn, should explain that we can go to hell.

■ One can imagine the consternation of the Good Samaritan if, returning from his trip, he found that the man he had helped was packed and ready to go home to live with him forever. Kind of how we feel on reading that President Endara says Panama would like to become the 51st state.

■ The Irish pop singer Sinead O'Connor recently refused to go onstage for a New Jersey concert unless the customary playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" before the show was canceled. So it was canceled. The state highway authority, which owns the concert arena, called the move an outrage and banned Miss O'Connor from performing there in the future. She didn't explain her aversion to the national anthem, but given her left-feminist manners, we presume it's something to do with imperialism. Maybe this could be resolved by having the anthem sung before her concerts by Roseanne Barr?

■ Not everything new from Catholic universities reflects the ascendancy of the Zeitgeist. The William E. Miller Society at Notre Dame is now publishing *Dialogue at Notre Dame* (P. O. Box 764, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556), a handsome journal of conservative reflection that will be produced six times per year, if the money lasts. The magazine features articles, interviews, and stories that reflect a doctrinal presence in contemporary society.

■ After four years of effort, the United States Government has established that a standard serving of fruit is five ounces unless you are eating watermelon, of which a standard serving is 11 ounces. The suspense was killing.

■ The Boston Symphony tuned up, then laid down

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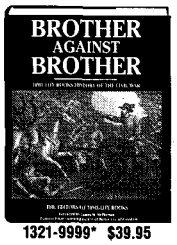

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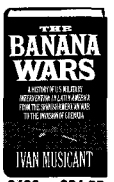

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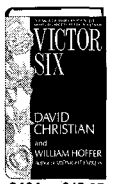

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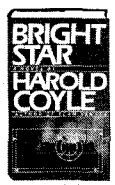

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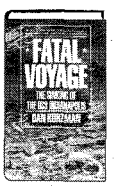

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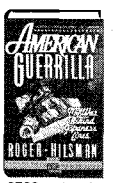

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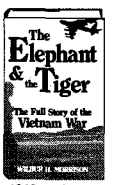

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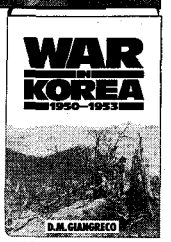

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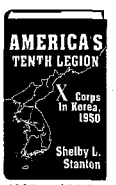

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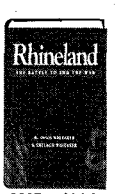

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its instruments for three silent minutes. In Lenox, Mass., lights were turned off for the same period in the middle of a performance of *As You Like It*. In Pittsfield, Mass., at the selfsame hour, out-of-work ballet dancers held a candlelight vigil. Why? . . . Give up? . . . To protest NEA cuts, silly! Guess which German dictator was repeatedly invoked? . . . Give up?

■ "Bad luck" was blamed for an 84-mile traffic jam in Japan that tied up 15,000 vehicles.

■ The Chinese government has hired 76,000 spit and litter police to try to clean up the streets of Peking before the Asian Games next month.

■ If they don't launch any new social programs for the time being, would that be a war dividend?

Action This Day

AS OF THIS writing the UN Security Council has authorized the use of force in support of the embargo of Iraq's trade; hundreds of U.S. aircraft and tens of thousands of American troops are in Saudi Arabia; and even Saddam Hussein's erstwhile suppliers and allies, the Soviets, appear to be turning on him. Saddam fights back with the weapons available to him. He has surrounded Western embassies in Kuwait and in effect holds their diplomats hostage. And in a particularly stomach-turning performance he visited some English "guests" at a location in or near Baghdad and supplied a videotape of the event to CNN. This was not, as most commentators supposed, a clumsy attempt to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein is a nice guy. No, his glinty-eyed false geniality, his tousling of a terrified five-year-old's hair, were meant to remind his enemies of the human price they will have to pay to bring him down. It was also a reminder, for those who need it, that we confront not merely an ambitious despot, but an evil man.

Two questions now confront the United States Government: What are our long-term objectives in this crisis? And, if we are likely to engage in war, should we start it sooner rather than later?

President Bush early on in the crisis put forth four objectives for the United States: Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, the restoration of the emirate, the security and stability of the Gulf region (including the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia), and the protection of Americans and American interests in the region. (The removal of Hussein from power is surely an implied objective, although it is not clear the Administration believes it can achieve this.)

In theory Bush's four aims can be achieved peacefully, by an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. But that would leave too many issues unresolved and would only pave the way for other forms of Iraqi aggression in a few years, when Saddam's nuclear programs have ripened or when international conditions appear more propitious.

We should have additional, and perhaps weightier, goals. It should be our stated objective to reduce Iraq's military power qualitatively, by stripping it of its nuclear and chemical capabilities, and quantitatively, by reducing its size and sophistication. Moreover, the United States should inaugurate the new international order by establishing three principles. 1) The United States will use force, including massive force, in support of its interests and international order; 2) countries attempting to devour peaceable neighboring states should suffer for it; 3) attempts by totalitarian dictatorships to develop weapons of mass destruction may lead them to catastrophe. These objectives are essential if we are to avoid a twenty-first century marked by massacre on a scale comparable to that of its predecessor. And to achieve these objectives we may have to wage war.

If war is inevitable, let it begin sooner rather than later. The longer the crisis lasts, the more opportunity we give Saddam to undermine our strategy by playing on our sympathy for Western hostages. The greater as well the chances for craven or purblind journalists and politicians to make excuses for the tyrant of Baghdad and to play upon our aversion to war. It is imperative to deny Saddam the initiative, to prevent him from widening the conflict or defusing it by maneuvering. If we must strike we should do so while the temper of the American people favors it. The Administration will be tempted to wait until every last soldier is in place, until every diplomatic objection has been overcome, until the moment is just right. This will never be. Theoretically desirable tables of organization should not dominate our strategic calculations; an understanding of political forces at work at home and abroad should. Lincoln warned that able organizer but dilatory strategist, General George B. McClellan, "Your enemies will probably use *time* as advantageously as you can."

Drizzle on the Right

A NUMBER OF our old friends and colleagues in the conservative movement are offering an eccentric interpretation of the present crisis. Mr. Bush's military intervention is, they argue, a proper cause not for conservatives, but for neo-conservatives. A war, in which no vital American interest is at stake, is being prepared for the benefit of Israel, the despotic ruling family of Kuwait, and some utopian vision of international order in which

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the U.S. would fight the UN's wars. (Take your pick.) The deserts of Arabia will, against all meteorological precedent, become a quagmire for American forces. Bug out, America.

NATIONAL REVIEW, which can lay some claim to unhyphenated conservatism, begs to differ.

America has at least three clear and vital interests in this crisis. The first is secure access to oil at a price not determined by a cartel under Iraqi military discipline. (See "From the Editor" and "Right Data.") Our second interest is in ousting an aggressive dictator who seeks to lead "the Arab world" and who is building up chemical and nuclear weapons in a region which has major U.S. allies. These allies include, yes, Israel, but also Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf sheikhdoms, and above all Turkey, to which the U.S. is bound by NATO obligations and which has a long-standing border dispute with Iraq (see J. B. Kelly, p. 31). Not Zionism but prudence suggests reducing the Iraqi threat while it is still non-nuclear.

Our third interest is to ensure that the post-cold-war world should, as far as possible, be one of peace and stability. This is not global altruism. As a world power with an economic presence in all continents, the U.S. has a strong interest in the international order that trade and overseas investment require. Nor has it anything to do with a universal crusade. Some local disputes will be ignored under a *Pax Americana* just as Latin American wars went on undisturbed during the *Pax Britannica*. But disputes that menace the wider world must be suppressed or, better still, prevented. The present crisis is exactly that. A victory for Saddam Hussein would be an incentive to every Third World dictator to settle his border disputes by force and to acquire nuclear weapons as the means of certain victory; an unadorned defeat would deter potential imitators. Our actions now might well make the difference, at moderate cost, between a century of commercial prosperity and one of multiplying local conflicts and proliferating nuclear threats.

Against these solid interests, what arguments do our friends on the neo-isolationist Right offer? They cite the strategic defeatism of veterans of Jimmy Carter's National Security Council. They borrow the Vietnam analogy from Democratic opponents of Reagan's support for the Contras. They swallow straight from Iraqi Ba'ath party propaganda the notion of Arab nationalism sweeping all before it—which is hard to reconcile with its record of economic and military failure, religious, tribal, and national division, and internecine rivalry since 1945. They copy such sophisticated inversions of the "foreign-policy establishment" as that an American victory would be pyrrhic, leading to the overthrow of friendly Arab regimes—an argument which assumes that the Gulf sheikhdoms now hosting U.S. forces are unaware of their own interests and that they would be *less* threatened by a U.S. defeat or by U.S. inactivity in the face of Saddam's aggression. They steal the argument that American power should be committed only in support of democracy, to which Kuwait's emir bears little resemblance—from the neo-conservatives! And when all else fails, they mutter gloomily behind their hands that President Bush will "cave"—that is, follow their advice.

Such determined despair is unwarranted by the strategic facts on the ground. President Bush has shown skill and fortitude in building up a powerful military force in Saudi Arabia backed by diplomatic support from virtually the entire world. We expect him to bite the bullet of military action when he judges the time is right to reduce Iraq's power to harm. If in the end he retreats, leaving Saddam Hussein to continue his nuclear and chemical buildup for the next aggression, we will criticize him as unambiguously then as we support him now—and we will have earned the right to do so. Those conservatives who by their carping defeatism have made the task of defeating Saddam Hussein appreciably more difficult will have no such right. Should their views prevail, they will have to live through the ensuing local wars, overthrows of U.S. allies, credible threats of chemical and nuclear aggression, spread of anti-American terrorism, seizure of U.S. assets in the Third World, and disruption of the world trade and commerce that underpins our domestic prosperity without complaint and, we trust, in humble and contrite silence.

Adam Smith to the Rescue

"BUT THE free-market approach had one inherent defect: it led inexorably back to the cheapest and most adaptable fuel—foreign oil, most of it from the Gulf." The sentiments expressed in *The Economist* are heard frequently these days. Self-flagellation is on the upswing among advocates of a free-market energy policy.

That "defect" in the free market pushed energy prices down dramatically after price controls were lifted in 1981, setting the stage for the longest economic expansion in peacetime history. It was this

A Djinn Made Him Do It

Saddam, who dreams about the throne
  The caliphs used to use,
Recalls the early Al Capone
  Unloading bootleg booze.

W. H. VON DREELE

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enormous growth in our economy, not profligate energy use, that brought about a 49.9 per cent reliance on foreign oil. Those who contend that oil's free-market price was too low because it didn't reflect the cost of protecting foreign supply lines might ask themselves whether a higher price, and a smaller economy, would have made us less vulnerable to Saddam Hussein's blackmail today.

OPEC's stranglehold on the world oil market wasn't broken until new sources began coming on stream—the North Sea, Mexico, Alaska's North Slope. (The cartel's exports to the U.S. dropped from 74.7 per cent to 41 per cent of American oil imports between 1973 and 1986.) But in recent years, energy policy has become a weak sister to environmental policy. The Point Arguello field off the California coast, where Chevron has invested $2.5 billion, has been ready to produce for years. If recalcitrant local officials give the go-ahead, up to one hundred thousand barrels a day could be added to domestic production. Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, with oil prospects rivaling those of the adjacent North Slope, remains off limits. Grossly exaggerated green worries about nuclear safety have shut down the nuclear industry for years.

Oil conservation will inevitably increase as oil prices do. Federal intervention to promote consumer efficiency is not only unnecessary, it can be eccentric in its consequences—witness the auto deaths attributable to fuel-efficient, lighter vehicles. But as long as the economy grows our reliance on foreign oil will continue to grow until domestic production is expanded. Provided that dictators are kept in their place, we will benefit thereby.

. . . Assisted by Gingrich

AFTER MONTHS of watching President Bush and his fellow GOP summiteers make one domestic mistake after another—including the abandonment of the winning no-tax theme of the last decade—conservatives finally have a reason to cheer. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich came back to Washington early from the summer recess and, addressing the Heritage Foundation, pre-empted everyone (including the White House) by offering his own pro-growth package of tax cuts. The Minority Whip proposed five separate measures—among them a reduction of the capital-gains tax rate to 15 per cent, a substantial increase in the $2,000-per-dependent deduction, and a revival in individual retirement accounts—all designed to stimulate the economy. If George Bush embraces the tax-cut idea, or at least goes back on his willingness to consider a tax increase, we may yet avoid the deep recession many Democrats are furtively hoping for.

Mr. Gingrich's *volte-face* is not the partisan maneuver it appears to be. No politician of either party thinks that raising taxes is a good idea at this time. The energy-tax option has been overtaken by events in the Middle East. Governors Florio and Cuomo squealed like stuck pigs at the prospect of forfeiting any deductibility of state and local income and property taxes, even though only "the rich" would have ended up paying more federal tax under that hypothetical scheme. The stock-transfer tax is blasted as "a dagger pointed at Wall Street" by the *New York Times*, no less. Those Democrats who still profess to favor tax hikes do so only in the hope that the Republicans will be foolish enough to enact them.

The problem is, there is no problem. There is no budget crisis, only the inflationary illusion of one. Measured by the yardstick of real things—a barrel of oil or an ounce of gold, for example—the national debt is smaller now than it was twenty years ago. It continues to fall as a percentage of GNP. Neither the S&L crisis nor a conventional war in the Middle East will change these circumstances. But throw in a sharp recession, exacerbated by higher taxes, and the budgetary non-crisis could rapidly metastasize into an economic debacle.

Where do we go from here? The President should publicly withdraw his offer to renege on his no-new-taxes pledge. Bipartisanship looks good on paper, but it doesn't work unless both parties bargain in good faith. In the absence of a miraculous agreement to cut spending, the entire burden of deficit reduction would fall on the automatic mechanisms of Gramm–Rudman. These may be necessary to drive the Democrats to sensible compromise. But such a compromise should probably include the revision of Gramm–Rudman that was in the works during the budget summit, and that will make even more sense once the tax option is closed.

Tax policy would thus become a key issue this November. Ronald Reagan and Jack Kemp spent a decade recasting the Republican Party as the champion of economic growth through supply-side tax reduction. By acknowledging his mistake, the President can re-install tax cuts as the great divide between Republicans and Democrats. George Bush should

The Yanks Are Coming

Once more armadas sweep the seas
To bend a tyrant to his knees,
As squadrons blacken Saudi skies
While tents to awe an Arab rise,
For we have promises to keep
And pocketbooks no longer deep.

W. H. VON DREELE

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embrace the Gingrich tax cuts as the best policy for a struggling economy.

Eligible Souter

WHATEVER may have attracted President Bush to Judge Souter, the fact remains that the New Hampshire jurist is far from an unknown quantity. Indeed, by the time the Senate completes its "advise and consent" procedure, the judge's posture on a wide array of legal issues will arguably be better known than those of a majority of his colleagues-to-be were at the time of their nominations. What did Justice Stevens's prior record on the bench tell us about his (quirky) future performance on the Supreme Court? What substantive public record on legal issues did William Brennan have prior to his nomination by President Eisenhower? Nominees who are prolific scholars along Bork–Scalia–Frankfurter lines have been the exception, less-published nominees such as Powell, O'Connor, Fortas the rule.

Judge Souter served as assistant attorney general of New Hampshire for three years, deputy attorney general for five years, and attorney general for two more years. His name can be found on hundreds, if

RIGHT DATA

The Real Price of Oil

FOR THOSE Americans who still feel taken advantage of by the oil companies, a few facts. Crude-oil prices started to rise well before the Iraqi invasion, going from $15.50 per barrel in mid June to $20 by the end of July. That translates to an increase of 12 cents a gallon. However, the wholesale (spot-market) price of gasoline rose only 3 cents per gallon, and retail gasoline prices did not rise at all during this period, according to data provided by the American Petroleum Institute.

Viewed from this perspective, the increase in gasoline prices in the days following the Iraqi *Blitzkrieg* was simply a delayed response to an earlier rise in the price of crude oil—not "price gouging" as many have charged. Further price hikes are expected, but the real price of oil is likely to stop far short of its historic high:

U.S. Oil Prices and Their Effects

	Crude-Oil Prices (Current $)	Crude-Oil Prices (1989 $)	Oil Consumption Per $1 Real GNP (1,000 BTUs)	Active Oil Rigs
1973	3.89	11.10	12.7	1,194
1974	6.74	16.19	12.5	1,472
1979	12.51	20.43	11.6	2,177
1981	31.77	41.66	9.8	3,970
1985	24.09	29.99	8.5	1,976
1986	12.51	16.05	8.7	970
1989	15.70	15.70	8.3	872

U.S. wellhead oil prices averaged $31.77 per barrel in 1981, the equivalent of $41.66 in 1989 dollars. At its peak—in early 1981—crude oil was selling for the equivalent of $50.50 in today's dollars.

Over the past four years the price of crude oil, adjusted for inflation, has been less than half of its 1981 peak. Although energy efficiency (as measured by the BTUs of oil consumed per dollar of real GNP) did not deteriorate, it has virtually ceased rising. What small gains we've made during this period reflect the gradual shift from a manufacturing to a service economy rather than increased conservation efforts.

No matter what oil prices do over the next few months we will not see anything like the burst of exploratory-oil-rig activity of 1981. Oil prices were deregulated that year, and the rig count grew by 1,060, or by more than the total number of rigs active today. Many of those operators went out of business when oil prices fell, and the capacity to expand exploration and development activity today is about half what it was a decade ago.

The large oil companies will not step up domestic exploration in a big way until they are convinced that the invasion of Kuwait will have a long-term effect on oil prices—three years is the rule of thumb. But in some areas, large-scale production could begin tomorrow if state and local authorities would give the go-ahead.

The ultimate brake on the price of oil is the ability to substitute alternative fuels. Natural gas, more plentiful than oil in this country, has already supplanted oil as the primary energy source at many factories and electric utilities. If oil prices go above $36—and stay there—gasoline becomes cheaper to make from natural gas than through the standard oil-based refining process. Price controls on natural gas were phased out in 1985, but the needed expansion in pipeline capacity remains mired in a morass of federal regulations.

—Ed Rubenstein

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not thousands, of legal documents, briefs, and opinions. He subsequently wrote well over two hundred opinions while serving on the state supreme court for seven years, as well as casting votes on hundreds of other cases. He is on the record in such areas of the law as freedom of association, libel, employee rights, *Miranda*, search and seizure, homosexual rights, and parental authority, and he has expounded in the course of these opinions on the role of the judicial branch, the use of precedent, and approaches to constitutional and statutory interpretation. While the judge is somewhat short on a personal bibliography, this has never before been thought of as a disadvantage for a Supreme Court Justice. What is Harry Blackmun's *magnum opus*?

In alleging that Judge Souter is a "cipher," his opponents are, in fact, complaining that his attitudes on two issues are largely unknown—abortion and racial spoils. These are their litmus tests; these are the two issues that matter with Senate liberals, and where they sense the potential for upending Republican judicial nominees.

Essentially, Souter is described as a "cipher" because his "paper trail" can be found only in areas that are not easily exploited by those who desperately want to be his adversaries. His paper trail on defendant's rights (tough on crime), for example, cannot be used against him in Peoria, and his paper trail on allowing the citizens of the hamlets of New Hampshire to conduct their own affairs free of judicial intrusion cannot easily be parlayed into a 30-second Meryl Streep commercial.

There is substantially more about David Souter that many—including ourselves—would like to know. However, the opposition to his nomination that is slowly coming together is not based on how *little* we know of Souter—it is based upon what some already *do* know, and dislike about him.

Their Man in Havana

THE AUGUST 13 *New Yorker* carries a profile of Cuba by Jacobo Timerman, the victim of the Argentine troika that exercised power in the early Seventies, whom nobody will suspect of reactionary prejudices. The piece describes life under Castro as of 1987, and it has the special pathos and indignation of disillusioned progressivism.

Timerman rambles impressionistically, but his impressions are telling. He describes the forms the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution distributes to guide Cubans in informing on their neighbors: the forms include such headings as "Place Where Comment Was Made" and "Effect of Comment on Listeners."

Books, Timerman notes, are perhaps cheaper in Cuba than in any other country, but that merely makes them "an insulting hoax," since the state decides what may be printed. The Soviet-produced Spanish-language newspaper *Novedades de Moscú* has actually become for Cubans "a kind of *samizdat*," because of its relative candor. (Gorbachev is in effect Cuba's Solzhenitsyn.)

But there are still a few foreign fellow-travelers. "Gabriel García Márquez, of course, is uncensored—except when he refers enthusiastically, as he often does, to *perestroika*." He also refers, often and enthusiastically, to Fidel, in tones that to Timerman recall paeans to Stalin. Samples: "His rarest virtue is the ability to foresee the evolution of an event to its farthest-reaching consequences. . . . He has breakfast with no less than two hundred pages of news from the entire world. . . . He has created a foreign policy of world-power dimensions." Then there is America's own Saul Landau, the IPS stalwart, who calls Castro "a force of nature, a man so filled with the energy of historical mission that he is almost of a different species. . . . [To the Cubans he is] their teacher, their guide, their Solomon and Hercules."

In fact, Castro can give a speech in which he both insists that Cuba is the world's only true socialist country and announces that henceforth the best hotel facilities will be reserved exclusively for tourists. He insists that the Revolution has eliminated prostitution; but in fact, Timerman notes, "you encounter it everywhere." Thirty-one years after the Revolution, prostitution and the state are the only Cuban institutions that haven't withered away.

He Used to Be a Big Shot

WHEN Donald Trump, in financial difficulties, went on a $450,000 monthly allowance this spring, the comedian Jay Leno quipped, "Now he'll learn how the other half lives."

Trump has been made a symbol of Eighties Greed, to be mentioned in the same breath as Ronald Reagan. He prefers to think of himself—and talk, talk, talk of himself—as a symbol of Free Enterprise, eager to share the secrets of his success with the rest of us. Having slogged our way through an endless profile of him in the September *Vanity Fair*, we can see him only as a symbol of Donald Trump.

Trump's life is an anachronistic success story. He made his huge fortune not in any innovative way, as by offering the world a better mousetrap or PC, but in New York real estate. Though not disreputable, his career is no advertisement for the free market. He played the angles in a regulated market, gathered the right friends and political contacts, used pressure and favors, and generally mastered "the art of the deal."

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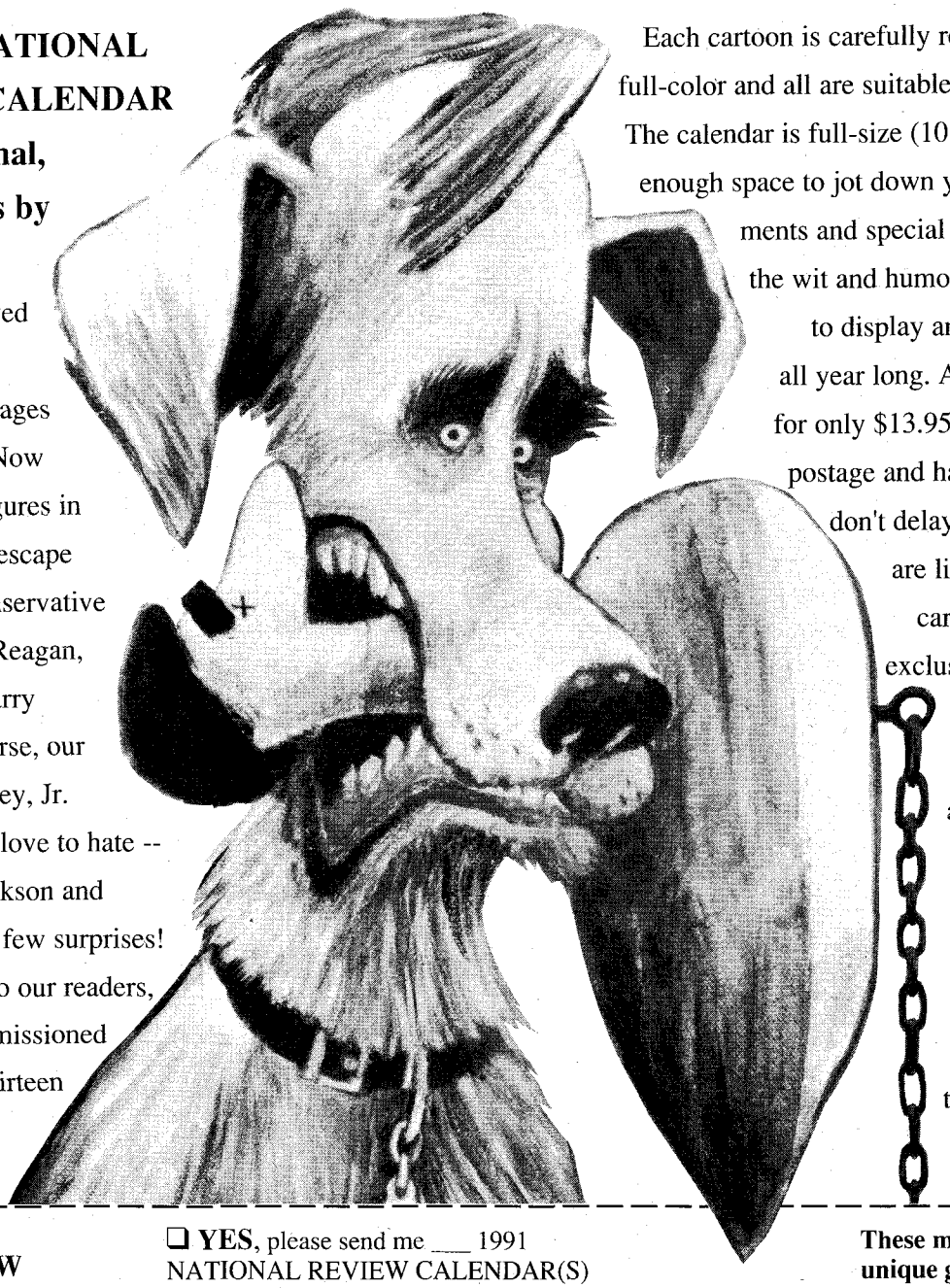

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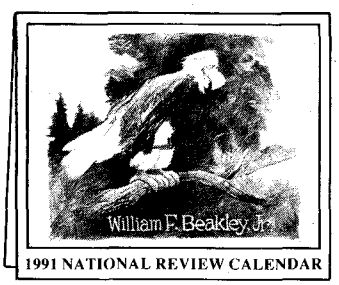

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Since he has hungered for publicity as much as for money, it's fair to observe that he gives every sign of being a shallow, boring man, who has reached the age where men of that sort shed Wife No. 1 in favor of a newer model. We are not so impervious to the world around us as to be unaware that the newer model's name is Marla Maples. Maybe Trump is best understood as a symbol of all the people you can't help knowing too much about nowadays.

The Cole Example

"EMBATTLED Teacher Quits Dartmouth" (*Boston Globe*, August 22). "Target of Paper's Barbs Resigns at Dartmouth" (*New York Times*, August 22).

A black music professor at Dartmouth, William Cole, came to national attention when the independent conservative weekly *Dartmouth Review* printed a verbatim transcript of one of his lectures in his Music 2 course. The newspaper had sharply criticized other professors (and also praised many), but in this case it let Cole speak for himself—a journalistic decision that was widely denounced as "racist." His discourse, it was nervously conceded by everyone willing to talk about the story, was rambling and incoherent. It was laced with obscenities and obsessed with race.

There followed controversy and lawsuits. The college administration hit the "racism" button hard. The student journalists defended their report on the grounds of "educational standards." Four student journalists received extraordinarily severe suspensions. They were reinstated by court order when a judge found the disciplinary process defective.

Now Professor Cole himself has resigned, blaming the *Dartmouth Review*, which has not mentioned him for at least two years. (He has been on leave for the past year.) Yet the major-media write-ups took at face value his claim that the *Dartmouth Review* has destroyed his credibility as a teacher. Then again, in a sense it did: by informing the community what a lecture by Professor Cole amounted to.

The Gift of Prophecy

They love to say, "I told you so."
But as Israelis hunker low
In deference to Uncle Sam,
It's time to honor Abraham
And Noah, too, who warned about
A sudden ending of the drought
As people harried him with hoots
Directed at his rubber boots.

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Richard L. Strout, R I P

HE WAS "TRB," which is *The New Republic*'s signature (like our "Cato") for the political column, now written by Michael Kinsley. Mr. Strout's full-throated affair with FDR and his ideological successors was the best distillate of Eastern Seaboard liberalism in town, and so he became famous as a kind of Herblockean pundit, and mythogenic in virtue of his longevity.

He was a colorful and resourceful writer who could find a different way twenty times a year to damn conservatives, libertarians, free-marketeers, anti-Communists, anti-gun-controllers, and McCarthyites. Those who knew him report that he was, if subjected to a ruthless body search, affable: his bark, to quote Randall Jarrell, was infinitely more menacing than his bite. We acknowledge a real pro, who above all would delight in being held responsible as Head Muse for much of what ails America; we extend sympathy to his family; to his successor, we tender our heartiest desires for a diminished influence.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am confused by these debates on what is really art. Perhaps you can help me with your advice.

Hypothetically: If my black Labrador retriever Spooky were walking next to *Piss Christ* and suddenly had the need to lift his leg, would he be enhancing art, or defacing it?

Sincerely,
Brad Zerbe
Sacramento, Calif.

Dear Mr. Zerbe: He would be defacing it. Only Mr. Serrano's urine is artistogenic. Cordially, WFB

■ Mr. Christopher Hitchens
The Nation

Dear Christopher:

I didn't bring it up during the [*Firing Line*] program, for obvious reasons. But let me say it and be done. Your idiosyncrasies are marked and you trade on their charm, which is natural, both in respect of the charm, and in respect of your exploitation of it. But I should think you could accomplish as much without flat misrepresentations. In your references to me in the book [*Blood, Class, and Nostalgia: Anglo-American Ironies*], for instance, you speak of

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my defense of my "own close relations with Evelyn Waugh." 1) I didn't have close relations with Evelyn Waugh. I published our entire correspondence in a couple of pages of the magazine. 2) You write that I attempted to persuade Waugh to write regularly for us, which he declined to do on economic grounds. "Buckley persisted, sending Waugh a free copy of his book *McCarthy and His Enemies*." The sequence from which you quote clearly establishes that my sending him the McCarthy book, after his review of Richard Rovere's *McCarthy*, was the initial gesture in our correspondence, not a subsequent second gesture. 3) You choose to omit, notwithstanding the salient relevance in context, Waugh's writing to me that my own book "clearly" showed that McCarthy had a genuine case against State Department security practices. 4) You carefully ignore the first sentence of the letter from Waugh, going on to quote only the ambivalent balance. Omitted by you, Waugh's "You have a very rare gift of captivating the reader's attention in controversies in which he has no direct concern." 5) You write that I went briefly to an English boarding school "from which he wrote a pompous letter to King George V reminding him of the obligation of the British Crown to repay its war debt to America." i) Unless you saw the letter, you cannot know whether it was pompous. ii) If you meant that the writing of such a letter was a pompous act, then you should have used the word "pompously" to describe what I did. iii) I was not a 13-year-old at boarding school in England when I wrote the letter, but an eight-year-old in Connecticut. iv) At the time I was at boarding school in England, George V had been dead for two years.

The question arises: Why do such things? Especially in a book that is unsparing of others who do?

With best wishes,
Bill

© Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

"Perestroika puts our entire Soviet society at risk—our dachas, our Zils, our special shops . . ."

Dear Bill:

Concerning your letter of May 23, some observations: 1) Sorry for this delay. There was a foul-up in the forwarding from the office, and if I hadn't run into Mike Kinsley I wouldn't have known to ask for a search. 2) Contrition concerning my freehand summary of the order of correspondence. I assure you that I was only "editing" in order to stress the Anglo-American nuances of the exchange, which are incidental to its original purpose. So when I omit as in your point (4) it is not in order to do you out of any compliments—I do cite Waugh's other kind remarks even if I do try to be funny about them. 3) On your schooldays and your letter to His Majesty. I was hoping to blame [John] Judis here but find I can't. I assumed, which one should never do. 4) I was only guessing about the pomposity and had no right or call to do so. "Grand" or "grandly" would have been a better surmise in any case.

That's as many Canossas as I can bear in any one letter. The relevant changes will be made in any subsequent edition. It was very decent of you a) to have me on the show and b) to hold your peace when Mike asked a goading question about my allusion to yourself.

Yours,
Christopher

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* is reproduced a newspaper advertisement placed by the late Monsignor Ronald Knox (1888–1957), to wit,

> Evangelical vicar, in want of a portable, second-hand font, would dispose, for the same, of a portrait, in frame, of the Bishop, elect, of Vermont.

I want to get into the *ODQ* and so I wrote,

Dear Vicar, my font is a version
Better suited for total immersion;
But when fitted with wheels
You might find it appeals
To a proselytized Gurkha or Persian.

The *ODQ* will not list a quotation unless it has been frequently reproduced. Would you reproduce my limerick, and urge others to do so?

John H. P. O'Brien
York, Pa.

Dear Mr. O'Brien: I will do one half of what you ask.
Cordially, **—WFB**

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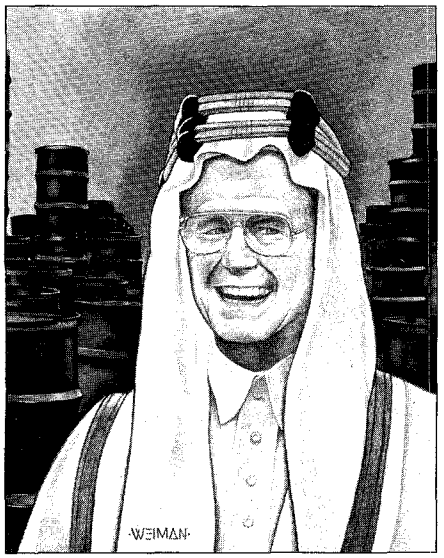
Bush's Great Game

WILLIAM MCGURN



Jon Weiman

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AS THE Pentagon gears up for war in the Persian Gulf, the Beltway is readying itself for an invasion of a different sort: the return of congressmen from their annual summer pilgrimage back home. Thus far the summer recess has allowed Bush to manage the Gulf crisis his own way, and he has proved himself remarkably adroit in lining up the rest of the world behind him, including the Soviets, the Japanese, the UN, and most of the Arab world. But he's likely to find Congress more difficult.

Not that many are going to question the sending of U.S. forces to the region; that has been left largely to such conservatives as Pat Buchanan, Robert Novak, and Joe Sobran. The Democrats, however—irked by the President's press conference at the outset of the crisis, when he publicly rebuked them for the failure of the budget summit—will be out there waving the flag and looking for ways to blame the Administration for the crisis.

The Democrats, says House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R., Ga.), "see this as a godsend to resurrect the Carter Administration. In the next few weeks they're going to spend their time attacking the oil companies, blaming Bush for a recession, and calling for a national energy policy."

Exactly. Whatever else may come out of the Gulf crisis, it guarantees a renewed debate on America's energy policy and a search for villains. Already the demagoguery has begun. Senator Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.) has complained about "price-gouging" by the oil companies. Calls for a new windfall-oil-profits tax will not be far behind. The Sierra Club took out a full-page ad in the *New York Times* under the headline, "The Oil Companies vs. the Rest of Us," urging the passage of all manner of Luddite regulations. One of these is the bill introduced by Senator Richard Bryan (D., Nev.) that would force automakers to produce cars averaging forty miles per gallon by the year 2001, up from today's average of 27.5 miles per gallon for new cars. Op-ed pages have been flooded with calls for a tax on gasoline—"Tax Energy to Show Saddam We're Serious" wrote economist Robert Samuelson in the *Washington Post*—and all over the nation the cry is going up that we are in this fix because we now import half our oil.

Naturally, by Beltway definition market pricing does not count as an energy policy. Nor, apparently, do results count. Under Jimmy Carter, America not only had a national energy policy (anyone remember synfuels?), he created an entire new Department of Energy to run it, all of which helped OPEC drive up the price of a barrel of oil to about $40. Reagan, poor fool, had no grand energy policy, and in fact sometimes wondered aloud why he had an Energy Department. Yet once his policies kicked in, the price of oil began a free fall, winding up around $10 a barrel.

The rejoinder is that Reagan did this by increasing America's dependence on foreign oil, which is presented as a Bad Thing, as if oil were somehow different from other commodities we import. True enough, Reagan's lifting the controls on oil prices did result in an oil glut, the net effect of which was to reduce the pressure to develop new domestic energy sources. The cheap oil of the Eighties also provided a margin of comfort that allowed the environmental movement to go as far as it did in throwing up roadblocks to any future development.

Governor Mario Cuomo refuses to fire up the Shoreham nuclear-power plant on Long Island, even though nuclear power has proved to be a safer and cleaner source of energy. Vast segments of America's coastline, including the coasts of California, Florida, and North Carolina, are now off-limits to offshore oil drilling, as is a section of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, even though the drilling would take place on a tiny fraction of that land. Fred Smith, president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, argues that Bush himself is to blame for some of this, in that he has backed the ban on offshore drilling in California. "He's willing to send fifty thousand troops to the Middle East but he won't send a nasty letter to the Sierra Club," says Smith. "What kind of policy is it that is willing to risk American boys but not American beaches?"

Ultimately, of course, the fallout from Iraq depends on what happens in the Gulf itself. For the American public it's pretty straightforward. If we lose, or it's a long, drawn-out affair where U.S. hostages are killed and American teenagers serving in Saudi Arabia start coming back in body bags, Bush risks becoming the GOP's Jimmy Carter. Thus far, however, Bush has made the right moves and publicized his vacation at Kennebunkport to show that he has not become a hostage to developments the way Carter did (though he may be overdoing it: local TV ran a clip of a meeting of wives of U.S. servicemen sent to the Middle East, in which some complained about Bush enjoying his golf

Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington bureau chief.

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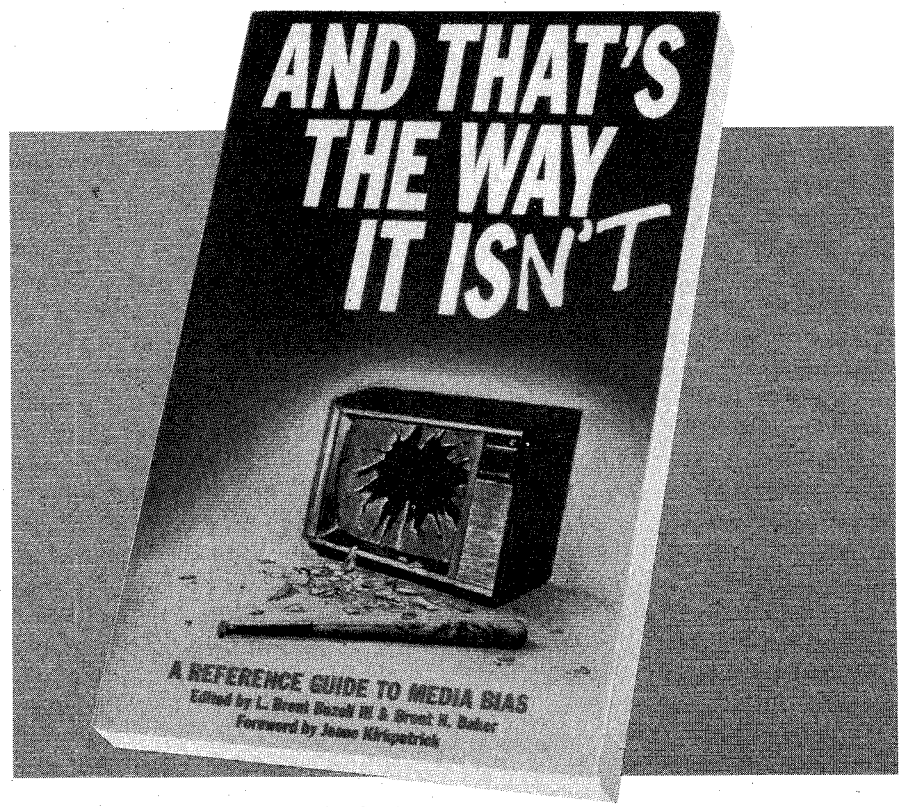

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game while their husbands' lives were at risk). But if Bush wins, he'll be a hero, and he will go into any debate on energy policy with a far better hand than his opponents. At a time when he is under attack from the greens for not going far enough on the environment, Saddam Hussein has handed him a trump card.

"If Bush wins, which seems to be most likely however you want to define 'win,' he comes out of this crisis with his credibility and reputation greatly enhanced," says the Heritage Foundation's Burton Pines. "What this crisis should do is enable us to get the other side to talk about the trade-offs, to realize that environmental policy has its costs too. Now, will he do it? That's another question." □

Canterbury Goes Christian

WILLIAM ODDIE

OXFORD

IN ENGLAND, the announcement of the name of the Right Reverend George Carey as the 103rd Archbishop of Canterbury—and thus Primate of the worldwide Anglican communion, and spiritual leader (in theory at least) of the current President of the United States—was front-page news; in the days that followed, it became the source of innumerable feature stories, gossip pieces, and "photo opportunities."

This should come as no surprise. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in English protocol, takes precedence, after the Queen herself, over all other subjects. It is an office whose origins go back to the sixth century: if only as a kind of living waxwork, its holder is bound to have a certain journalistic sex-appeal.

But in America the same event was hardly reported at all. Though Americans are far more religious than the English, American newspapers give almost no coverage to church affairs unless sex is in some way involved. Another obvious explanation is the current state of Anglicanism in America. It is inconceivable that the election of a Pope could be downplayed by a major American newspaper: there are just too many Catholics. But Episcopalians are becoming an endangered species. The Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. has lost a third of its members in twenty years, during a period in which church attendance in the population as a whole has been growing. The Episcopal Church simply does not count in the national life as it used to.

The Eighties was the decade in which the hegemony of Sixties liberalism finally seemed to consolidate its grip over the structures of power

Jennifer Lawson

within white Anglo-Saxon Anglicanism throughout the world. The more "liberal" the leadership became, the more there was a suspicion that the Church of England was simply not behaving the way a church ought to behave, that it had become a different kind of institution, one concerned not with man seen *sub specie aeternitatis*, but simply with crude social and political man, with *l'homme moyen sensuel*.

One exemplar of this breed, Dr. John Habgood, Archbishop of York, was under consideration to succeed Dr. Robert Runcie as Archbishop of Canterbury—indeed, a Gallup poll taken among the General Synod (the "parliament" of the Church of England) a few months ago showed him to be the front-runner. But Dr. Habgood's appointment would have strengthened all the secularizing tendencies that have brought Anglicanism in particular—and mainline Western Christendom in general—to the edge of extinction. Consider his reaction when a Synod member, Mrs. Margaret Brown, introduced a motion earlier this year inviting the Synod to express belief in the Virgin Birth and Resurrection of Christ. Dr. Habgood described the wording of this motion as "crass."

The problem is not simply Dr. Habgood, but the trend he represents. To the liberal churchman, Christianity is simply one religion among many: Dr. Runcie, for example, feels a real uncertainty about "the meaning and significance of the incarnation within the context of religious pluralism."

Dr. Carey is unhappy about such stuff, and he is prepared to say so, without qualification: here he is, earlier this year, commenting on the debate which aroused such lofty contempt in Dr. Habgood:

> The recent debate in Synod on incarnation and resurrection is one example of the unease many ordinary people feel about their Church. They feel that we bishops are not giving a positive lead in our teaching; that we have lost sight ourselves of the uniqueness of our faith and are prepared to sacrifice its truth for a wider ecumenism than the New Testament and the tradition of the Church allow. . . . I believe they are right to voice such worries. If we ourselves are unconvinced that Jesus Christ is Lord we shall never win others to his allegiance.

A constant theme of Dr. Carey's writings is the powerlessness of man without God; his book *The Church in the Marketplace* (his account of his ministry in Durham) makes clear that here is a man who has placed himself entirely under God's direction, who firmly believes that he has only to ask and God's intention for him will become apparent. Sometimes, indeed, God will speak without being asked, as when He told Dr. Carey, profoundly against the latter's will, to leave Durham and become a principal of Trinity College, Bristol. "For a time," he wrote, "we were very confused by this change of direction. Why was it that we were being told to move on? . . . God was tapping us on the shoulder, saying, 'Your time is up. Off you go, folks. . . .'"

One would not normally expect Anglican Catholics to feel too much sympathy with this mode of expression,

Dr. Oddie is a former chaplain to graduate students at Oxford University and the author of What Will Happen to God? *(Ignatius Press), a study of feminist theology.*

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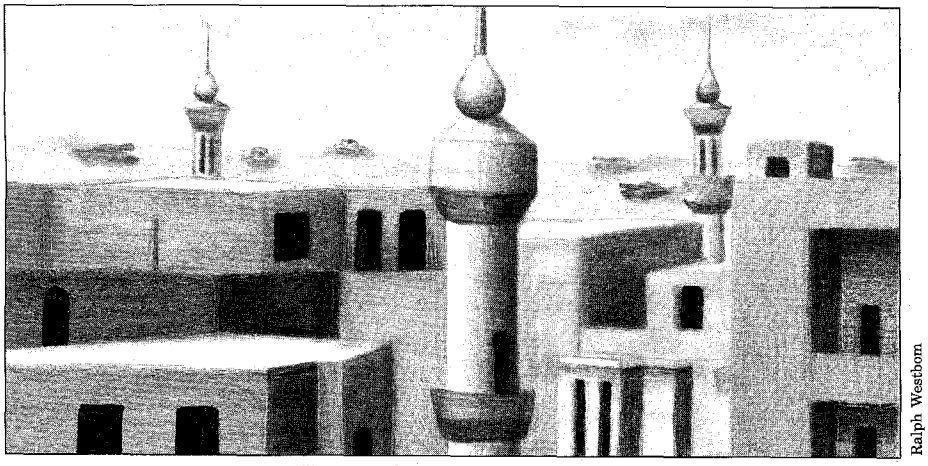
but it seems to come as a welcome relief after a decade of liberalism. "The nightmare is over" was the response of the Labor MP Frank Field, a devout Anglican. "Hail Carey, full of grace," said a well-known Anglo-Catholic priest from London, who phoned me minutes after the announcement was made. For the great divide within the Church of England is no longer between "Catholic" and "Protestant," but between Evangelical and liberal.

There is, of course, always a snag. Dr. Carey on most important issues of faith and order is a traditionalist. But there is one exception, an exception important enough, perhaps, to explain how he attracted sufficient liberal support for his appointment to go through: he is an unabashed enthusiast for the ordination of women to the priesthood, an issue which will dominate the synodical elections this autumn, and one which will be decided finally during the next two years. How Dr. Carey can be so orthodox on other issues and so liberal on this one is a mystery to many traditionalists, who are hoping that they can defeat his ambitions to ordain women and support him on everything else. It is all very perplexing; but however it all turns out, Anglicanism has at least now taken a decisive step away from the swinging Sixties. Whether it retains enough theological backbone decisively to recover its own deepest traditions remains to be seen. □

Kuwait Diary

VICTOR MALLET



Ralph Westbom

KUWAIT CITY

THURSDAY—Iraq invades Kuwait before dawn, taking the population by surprise despite the collapse of negotiations between the two countries the day before. People are still commuting to work in the city center hours after Iraqi forces crossed the border and took the capital. At first it seems that Kuwaiti troops have fought back only in the city center, particularly at the royal palaces of the ousted Al Sabah family, but the burned-out tanks and armored cars I see later in the Jahra area to the west show that there were battles outside the capital as well.

Kuwaitis are shocked and can hardly believe that their country has been overrun. Some of them assume that Saddam Hussein is simply making a show of force to extort money from Kuwait. Thousands of foreign workers from the Arab world, Asia, and the West were also caught unawares. "It's chaos," says one British diplomat during the morning fighting. "We're alarmingly near to it here."

Later in the day a radio broadcast on an unfamiliar wavelength claims that the free provisional government has overthrown Sheikh Jabir, the emir, and invited in the Iraqis. No one believes it, and suspicions are later confirmed by Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. Meanwhile Kuwaiti television is still in the hands of the old regime, and broadcasts an appeal for resistance by Sheikh Saad, the crown prince. "They have come to kill the sons of Kuwait and its women," he says. "Our patriotic army is repelling the aggression. Kuwaitis should stand behind them." In fact the army has all but fled and the television is apparently broadcasting from a secret location, although isolated pockets of resistance will continue to trouble the Iraqis for several days to come.

Senior members of the ruling family have escaped to Saudi Arabia.

Friday—Iraqi troops consolidate their hold on the country but resistance continues, and there is further fighting both at the emir's Dasman Palace and at the military barracks near Shuwaikh. We see three shot-up Iraqi pickups. Four corpses lie on the roadside. The Iraqis appear to have chosen the Sheraton Hotel as their headquarters, and they position tanks along the seafront next to Arabian Gulf Street.

Baghdad Radio announces that the new government, declaring the Al Sabah to be corrupt, has confiscated all their wealth, but there is still no indication as to who are the new leaders. They later turn out to be Iraqis. Rumors that former Kuwaiti opposition figures such as Dr. Ahmed Khatib might be involved are vigorously denied. Resistance in the barracks seems to have been crushed by the evening. Throughout Kuwait the number of dead and injured is estimated at about eight hundred, although there are no accurate figures available.

Some shops, including the Sultan Center supermarket, are open by the afternoon, and only milk and bread are in short supply. Lines form at gas stations, and *muezzin* call the faithful to Friday prayers. Kuwaitis are still stunned by the Iraqi attack. "They cannot just do this, even if they oppose the Kuwaiti government," says one civil servant. "A country has its dignity." Like many other Kuwaitis, he says that people will run away to Saudi Arabia if they can. International telecommunications are cut in the evening, although telex lines to Saudi Arabia function intermittently until Saturday. Local telephone lines have worked throughout the crisis, although after a few days numbers beginning with the digits 24—including several ministries and the British and U.S. embassies—stop working.

Saturday—The fiasco of the Iraqi-

Mr. Mallet was the first Western journalist to get out of Kuwait with a report after the Iraqi invasion. Reprinted with permission from the Financial Times.

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imposed government becomes more pronounced. Kuwaitis scoff at the fact that their supposed new leaders have not shown their faces and that the announcers of the new Iraqi-controlled TV station speak in Iraqi accents and do not know how to wear the *ghutra*—the traditional Kuwaiti headdress. Even Kuwaitis with grievances against the royal family are now completely alienated by Iraq's crude propaganda. "I think this is nonsense," says one Kuwaiti newspaper publisher.

The first reports of looting—later to be confirmed—surface. Residents say the gold *souk* has been ransacked, although it is not clear who did it. Civilians mount a resistance campaign in the Keifan district of the capital. The Iraqis meanwhile have opened prison gates, apparently taking away a group of Kuwaiti Shia Muslims convicted of bombing Western embassies.

A HANDFUL of Britons also freed approach their embassy for passports. For the first time there is an eyewitness report of Westerners being driven away in buses by the Iraqis. Frenzied shoppers continue to empty the shelves of the Sultan Center. Canned foods—except for quails' eggs—are running out, but cherries from the U.S. and cabbages from Holland are still available. I am astonished when the cashier accepts my credit card and gives me tickets for a drawing. Such is the unreality of war. The prize for the drawing, a car, was later stolen.

In the afternoon a helicopter circles around the Holiday Inn while guests with nothing to do and nowhere to go sunbathe by the pool. Even after the fighting began, the hotel's telex machine cheerfully and automatically answered back to desperate callers: "Welcome to a new age of elegance."

Sunday—Resistance continues. Some colleagues and I have to stop our car and dive for cover as gunfire is exchanged across the main road. From where we lie it seems that resistance forces are attacking an Iraqi convoy. Such ambushes seem to be common. Just beyond the shooting an Iraqi soldier flags us down and asks over-optimistically for whisky.

Civilian resistance also begins to grow, and in one part of the town 150 women demonstrate against the occupation. Kuwaitis see Iraqi civilians moving into Kuwait following Baghdad's announcement that one hundred thousand people in southern Iraq have volunteered for a popular army. They say Iraqis are knocking on doors and asking for *dishdashas*, the traditional male robe worn in the Gulf. Anti-Iraq graffiti are now widespread. Kuwaiti flags and pictures of Sheiks Jabir and Saad are plastered over road signs and hung from bridges. The Holiday Inn, however, decides that discretion is the better part of valor and finally takes down the pictures of the two sheikhs in the lobby.

Tanks are seen entering Keifan to crush the resistance there. From Rumathiya a resistance member calls me and says: "It's still going on. One of my cousins is injured. We've received a message from the emir saying that he is getting ready to come back with tanks and helicopters to help us. I have to go now. There is shooting outside." Two Kuwaiti Air Force aircraft which escaped during the invasion are said to have bombed an airfield or a police station in the Jahra area. One of the many wild rumors circulating has it that the aircraft bombed Baghdad and injured Saddam.

Monday—Shortly after midnight we see a televised appeal to the nation from Sheikh Jabir, but he reads from his notes and does not look charismatic. Concern among foreigners increases following veiled threats from the Iraqis. Halfway through breakfast some other hotel guests and I are ordered to our rooms by the management amid fears we will be rounded up and taken to Baghdad.

Confusion reigns. The crews of British and Moroccan passenger aircraft trapped in Kuwait are told to take the planes to Baghdad empty. But they never take off. Embassies—some without telephones—are struggling to find out how many of their citizens are in the country. The system of district wardens used by some embassies seems to be chaotic. "We are feeding ourselves mostly with rumors," says one Soviet diplomat dealing with an estimated one thousand nationals. "We must be together now." Ragged Iraqi civilians are said to be moving into some residential areas, but not all accounts can be confirmed. The Iraqi authorities urge people to go to work. No one seems to take any notice, but essential services are still functioning. A 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. curfew has been declared, but many Kuwaitis ignore it.

Tuesday—Refugees continue to head for the border with Saudi Arabia, but it is closed. We encounter a washing machine that has fallen off a vehicle in the middle lane of the highway to al-Salmy in the west. We are turned back by an Iraqi roadblock.

More looting is reported in the city center, and there are reports that ration cards are being issued in some areas. The days are becoming quieter but resistance fighters continue to snipe at the Iraqis by night. Soldiers at roadblocks are friendly, even to British citizens, after the British government declares support for the U.S. and Saudi Arabia in their confrontation with Saddam. At least one reported rape is confirmed by diplomats.

A resistance leaflet appears calling Saddam "The Hitler of the Gulf." There is feverish speculation among the hotel guests, and the mood is not helped by opinion polls on U.S. satellite television suggesting that the U.S. should take military action against Iraq.

Wednesday—Last night Kuwaitis assembled on rooftops and shouted defiance at the Iraqis, together with cries of "God is Great!" They are encouraged by the belief that their demonstration will be seen by American spy satellites. Resistance members have started to remove street signs to confuse the occupying forces.

I MEET a resistance leader, a younger member of the Al Sabah family, who says: "We have a political and military undercover structure now. We are in contact with our leadership outside." He says the Iraqi soldiers have been fed lies about a supposed Israeli attack on Kuwait which they have come to beat back. The thirty-year-old resistance leader, part of an amateurish but courageous network, says: "My place is in Kuwait. Saddam Hussein will leave whether by force or voluntarily. It may be today, tomorrow, or in a month's time, but he will leave. There is no man, child, or woman who will help him."

The resistance is urging people not to report to work and to ignore the Iraqi-controlled media. "We are not

(Continues on page 58)

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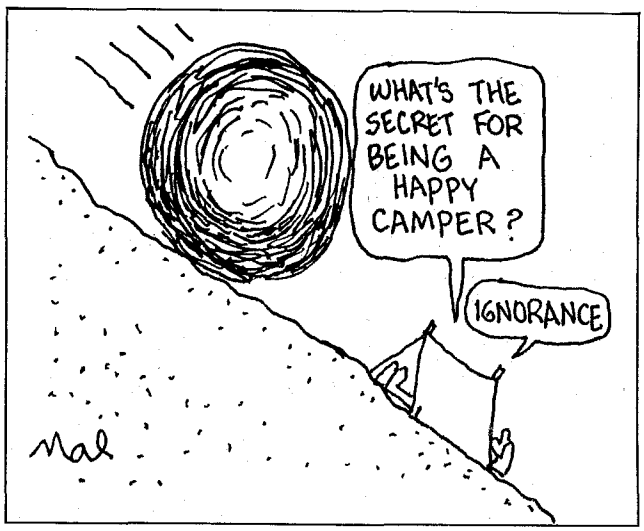

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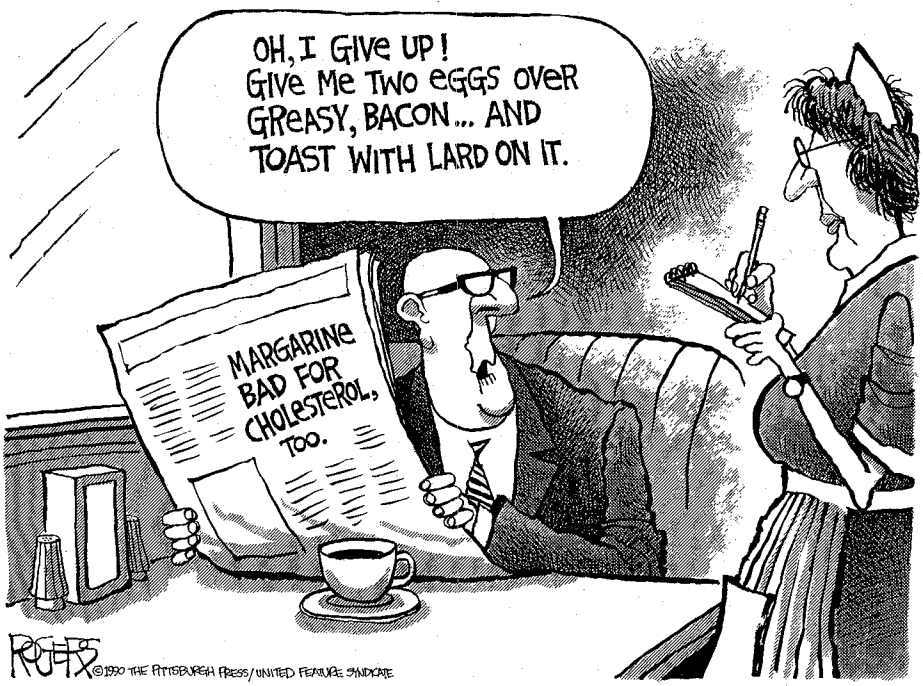
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MARGARINE BAD FOR CHOLESTEROL, TOO.
ROGERS
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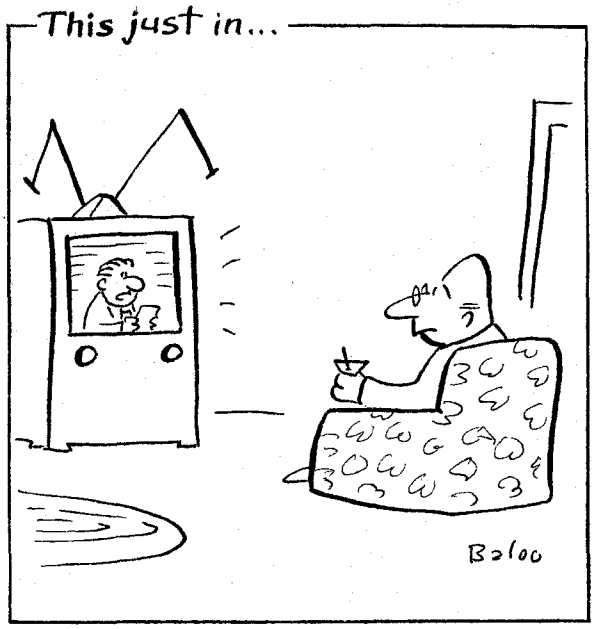
Weather or Not

With weathermen seeming uncertain,
And forecasts forever in doubt,
It's easier to pull back the curtain
(Or pull up the blind
If your window's that kind)
And simply—quite simply—look out.

MAUREEN CANNON



"The world was shocked today by the formation of the Organization of Drug-Exporting Countries . . ."

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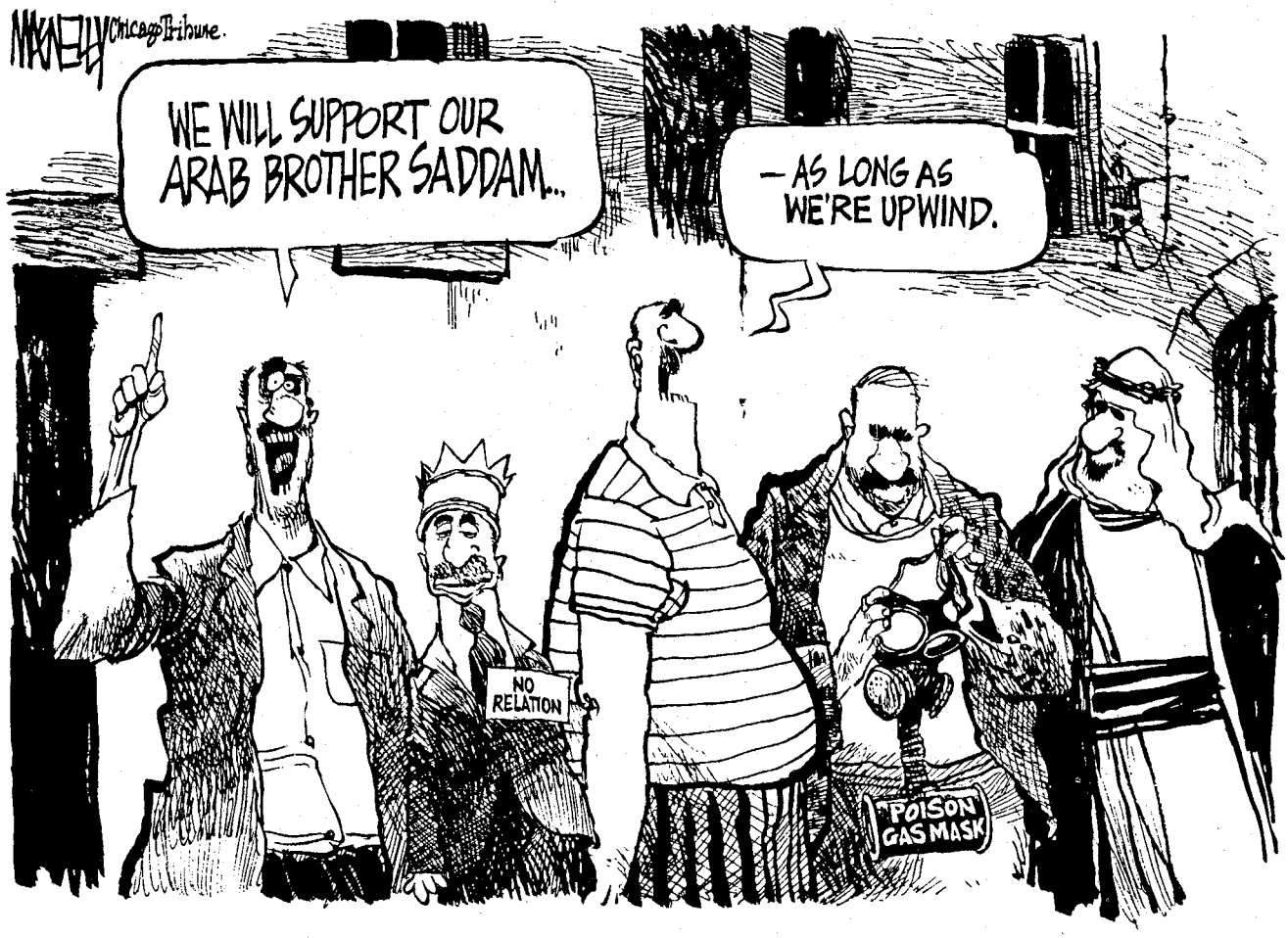

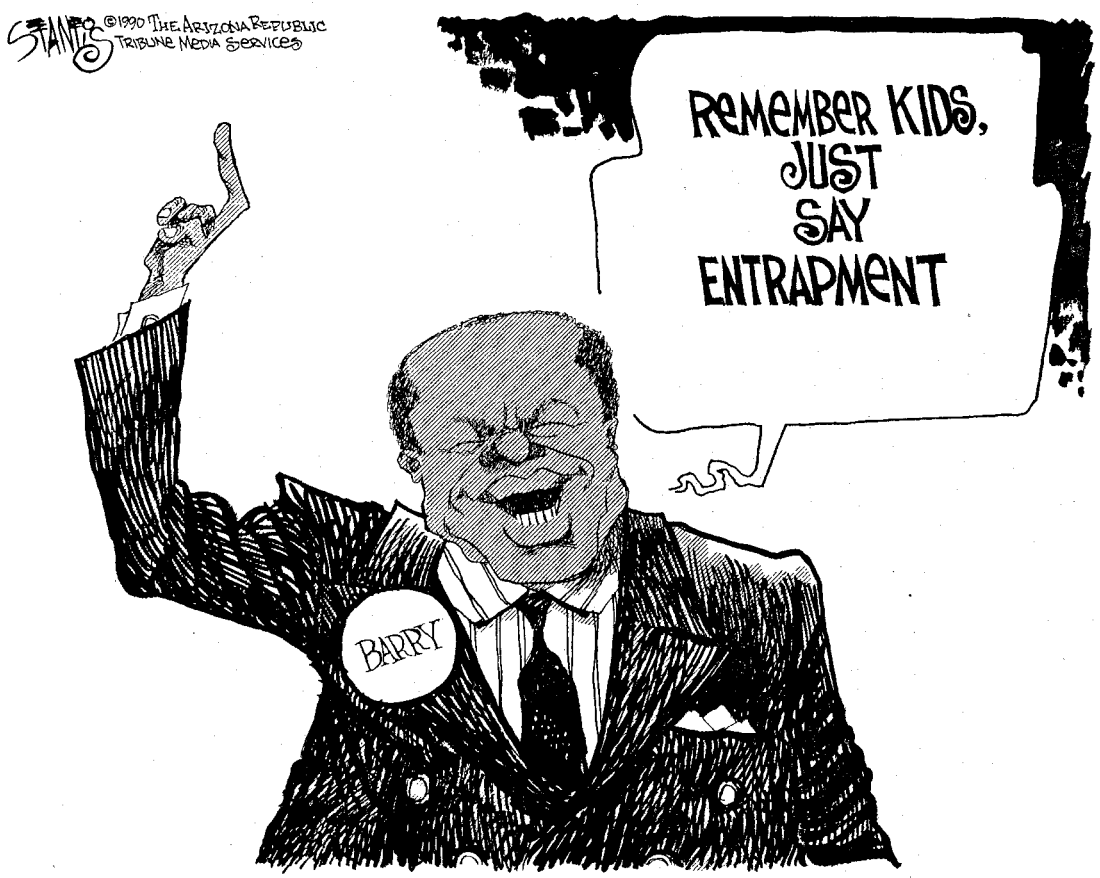

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Postponing the Peace Dividend

NEW ENEMIES FOR OLD?

Peace was busting out all over—
until Saddam Hussein walked into Kuwait.
And the Red Army has more firepower than ever
before. Can America really afford a peace dividend?

WILLIAM R. HAWKINS

A 1984 STUDY by the Norwegian Academy of Sciences determined that since 3600 B.C. there had been 14,531 wars with only 292 years of peace over the entire span of 5,584 years studied. At that, the Academy undoubtedly missed some wars whose documentation has been lost in the mists of time. Historians James Dunnigan and William Martel, in their book *How to Stop a War*, describe some four hundred wars fought over the last two hundred years. The Lenz Peace Research Laboratory in St. Louis reports that there were 17 wars in progress during 1989. Conflict is inevitable in a world system divided into scores of culturally diverse and sovereign states competing to increase their share of wealth and power.

Those who claim that this will change with the advent of a global economy fail to realize that we have had some form of global economy for five hundred years. The effect of globalization has been to widen the scope and increase the scale of conflict. It is the very fact of interdependence that makes it vital for governments to project their power to distant lands, or to mold the international system in their interest. Only isolated states can afford to ignore each other.

During this century Communism generated a great deal of bloodshed through war and revolution. Yet there have been other wars in this century, including the two world wars, that were rooted in other ideologies, in religion, or in plain old power politics. In the 1980s, during which the U.S. liberated Grenada and supported the Contras' war in Nicaragua, it also used military force against foes not primarily (or at all) motivated by Communism in Libya, the Persian Gulf, Lebanon, and Panama. The breakup of the Communist world will not mean the end of war.

Military forces are the product of years of effort. Once degraded through neglect, they cannot be instantly regenerated in a crisis. The U.S. has a volunteer military with a small pool of reserves. Its standing forces must be strong enough to fight and win a limited war or hold the line in a larger conflict until the country can mobilize. As the Iraq crisis is currently demonstrating, only conventional forces are capable of power projection to support American interests. The Navy, with its carriers and amphibious forces, is the basis of America's global reach. It has been called upon more often than any other service to respond in a crisis or to play a role in coercive diplomacy. The "reformers" and economy-minded critics of the aircraft carrier were left floundering in the wakes of the powerful battlegroups that were once again first on the scene.

Iraq also provides an example of why the U.S. must maintain a strong army to practice "politics by other means." Against the 5,500 tanks and massed artillery of Iraq, it is clear that the "light" divisions of Marines and paratroopers favored by many post-cold-war commentators would not be enough. Heavy units (armor and mechanized infantry) are not just for Europe. Their mobility and firepower have proven indispensable from the jungle to the desert.

A World of Weapons

THE RESURGENCE of a militant Islam continues, and new waves of nationalism are sweeping across both ancient and modern states. Heavy tanks, high-performance aircraft, submarines, and missile systems of all types fill the arsenals of governments around the world. Forty-one Third World states possess a total of over 250 submarines. A dozen countries have one thousand or more heavy tanks. Forty have domestic armament industries. Many states in Latin America and the Middle East are developing ballistic missiles of intermediate range. And Iraq has successfully tested a

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three-stage rocket it claims can reach orbit. Nuclear-, chemical-, and even biological-weapon technologies have also proliferated. The countries most involved in acquiring these new systems (Argentina, India, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Syria) would require a substantial military effort to subdue. In such a world, U.S. forces must be both mobile and potent in firepower, with large munition stockpiles to sustain the high tempo of modern combat.

When the Time Is Ripe

THOUGH THERE IS little political support in the abstract for U.S. intervention in another "land war in Asia" (or the Middle East, or Latin America), wars are not fought in the abstract. As Iraq is currently demonstrating, at some point a concrete situation arises that requires large-scale military action. The armed forces must be ready if such action is to be a viable option. In the words of General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "If we're going to have a superpower sign outside our door, we've got to be ready to back it up. . . . We've always got to be ready for the contingency nobody has planned for and the crisis nobody knew was coming until it arrived."

But even though maintaining world order against the threats of Third World dictators like Saddam Hussein will be an increasing responsibility for the U.S. Government, our principal defense task will remain deterrence of the Soviet military threat. For, whatever its changing political intentions—which may, of course, change back again—and whatever the current divisions and lack of morale in the Red Army [see "The Enemy Within?" by Brian Crozier, p. 30]—and these could, of course, be remedied by a vigorous new military leadership—the Soviet Union remains a superpower with the world's most powerful military machine. Even if a START agreement reduces heavy ICBMs by 50 per cent, the Soviets will still be able to improve, in relative terms, their capabilities against hard targets. Continued deployment of new mobile missiles like the SS-24 and SS-25, a new modification of the SS-18, and improved submarine-launched missiles (SS-N-20 and SS-N-23) will result in a more accurate, survivable, and dangerous Soviet nuclear force.

Even during the Reagan buildup of the early 1980s, the USSR expanded its conventional forces faster than the U.S. did. Recently, of course, the 2.5 to 1 edge that the Warsaw Pact held over NATO's Central Front has been reduced by the withdrawal of the armies belonging to the non-Soviet members of the Pact. In addition, Mikhail Gorbachev has announced some unilateral cuts. Yet even so the Red Army alone, without its former Warsaw Pact partners, is still stronger than NATO. Indeed, if the entire military might of the Central European states were added to NATO, the USSR would still be numerically stronger in a campaign for Central Europe.

The Soviet navy continues to grow, with more tonnage delivered in 1989 than in any other year in the decade thanks to the commissioning of its first full-deck fleet aircraft carrier, the *Tbilisi*. At 75,000 tons, it will deploy naval versions of first-line combat aircraft (MiG-23 and MiG-19). A second carrier of the same class, the *Riga*, is being fitted out, and a larger carrier, perhaps nuclear powered, is under construction. The Soviets are also increasing their amphibious-landing capabilities. Meanwhile, Moscow's large and expanding airborne/air-transport capacity will continue to give it a substantial capability for power projection outside Europe.

The current enthusiasm for military cuts in Washington is based on the assumption that the risk of war in Europe has diminished. But even if the USSR renounces Communism and becomes again merely Russia, a "normal" great power, the potential for conflict will remain. After all, Russia conquered the largest land area in the world before Lenin was born. And it should be kept in mind that the purpose behind Gorbachev's reforms is to make the USSR/Russia a more capable and effective competitor in the world arena. As Donald M. Snow, a professor at the Army War College, recently stated, "The Stalinist system has become a

millstone around the neck of Soviet national aspirations." Gorbachev wants to remove the millstone, and we cannot forecast his aspirations with certainty.

Until Kuwait, the "disarms race" going on between the White House and Congress had rekindled the Soviets' belief that their position would be enhanced by American withdrawal from Europe. If (as seems likely) the Soviets do eventually withdraw their own troops from Central Europe, would the Administration be able to persuade Congress to maintain the troop level (195,000) set by President Bush?

Of course, even after a withdrawal, Soviet troops would remain only a train ride away, whereas American forces would have to recross the Atlantic with limited air- and sea-lift capacity. The risk of a Soviet "bolt from the blue" attack against NATO would be reduced. However, this has never been the most likely way for a European war to start. Most scenarios assume a period of crisis that escalates, a time during which both sides reinforce the front line. Soviet commanders have been practicing methods for rapid mobilization based on

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higher peacetime readiness. Jeffrey W. Legro, a Fellow at the Rand/UCLA Center for Soviet Studies, has recently written that Soviet officials "continue to recognize the offensive as the dominant form of operations. . . . It may be that the forward-based, standing-start threat has decreased, yet the USSR will continue to maintain a powerful force potential on its territory." Pre-emptive strikes also remain a key element in Soviet thinking. Albert L. Weeks of New York University has recently cautioned that "it is necessary, at all times, to temper one's convictions that wholesale change is in the air with respect to the deep-rooted Soviet principles of war-fighting."

It is also wise to study the impact of reform on Red Army strength. In last November's *International Defense Review*, Edward Ezell of the Institute for Research on Small Arms in International Security argued that Soviet ground forces were being transformed into a "technologically based and more efficient force."

Another noted observer of Soviet military affairs, Stephen Zaloga, reported in the May 1990 *Armed Force Journal* that the Red Army is close to deploying battle-

THE ENEMY WITHIN?

IN THE good/bad old days in the Soviet Union, all was one: cohesive, uniform, streamlined. The Red Army was the military extension of the ruling Communist Party (CPSU). The Defense Council was the Politburo in military session. The KGB's Third Directorate kept its eagle eyes open within the armed forces, suppressing dissent, detecting plots and plotters.

And now? All the signs are that the Red Army is in shambles, both reflecting and contributing to the spreading anarchy caused by *perestroika*.

Twelve years ago, a French academic, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, in a remarkably far-sighted book entitled *L'Empire éclaté*, foresaw a fissiparous Red Army of the future, inherent in the demographic diversity of the USSR and the higher birth rates in the Muslim areas. The experts believe that future is the present. One of them, Lieutenant General (Retired) William E. Odom, paints a grim picture in an extended analysis in the current issue of *Problems of Communism*.

To make matters worse, over the past year, independent armies have emerged in several of the constituent republics of the USSR. There is a uniformed nationalist army in Georgia (home ground of the telegenic foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze). Admittedly the uniforms are amateurish, home-sewn, with Georgian flags. But then, you wouldn't expect haute military couture.

There is also an unofficial army in Azerbaidzhan. Briefing the press in late January, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov estimated it at forty thousand fighters, armed with submachine guns, rifles, mortars, and hunting guns. When the Red Army tried to enter Baku, its movements were reported by fifty radio cars to a control center aboard the ship *Sabid Orudzhez* in the Caspian Sea.

In Armenia, according to MVD (Interior Ministry) forces, some five thousand combat arms were seized. The (strictly unofficial) Armenian National Army now claims it has 160,000 men under arms.

Meanwhile, in the Red Army itself, it is obvious to the senior officers that Gorbachev's aim is to demote the armed forces. By all accounts, Defense Minister Yazov is not a man of high caliber. Nor is Gorbachev's choice for the new chief of the general staff, Colonel General Mikhail Moiseyev. Morale is low, and sinking. In a recent column ["The Red Blues," June 25] I quoted the *official* figure of 59 Soviet Army officers murdered by lower ranks last year.

This spring, the Defense Ministry threatened to dismiss any officer or other employee caught cooperating in the drafting of military reform legislation for the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Issues. This item was far from secret: it was broadcast on Moscow Domestic Radio Service on March 6.

In the good/bad old days, Soviet Army officers didn't speak their minds publicly about political matters. Not any more. On April 13, General Viktor P. Dubinin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces in Poland, gave an interview to the trade-union weekly, *Solidarnosc*. "Our country's armed forces," he said, "do not need *perestroika*." We do not know whether the general was disciplined for saying it.

The most dramatic and potentially threatening incident was a partial mobilization in Moscow on February 25 last. The Taman division and certain other troops in the Moscow garrison were issued weapons and ammunition. According to reports I believe to be reliable, Gorbachev was unaware that this was going on. At that time, there was a kind of confrontation between the Army and the KGB. Nothing happened, but the situation was tense. After the event, Gorbachev was informed that "in view of the high probability of civil strife, these forces had been mobilized, just in case they were needed to prevent a loss of control."

Throughout Soviet history, the military officer corps has been a privileged section of the *nomenklatura*, with better housing, access to consumer goods, and so forth. No privileged group likes to see itself under threat, and many of Gorbachev's measures have been threatening. A shiver ran through the upper ranks of the military when he told the UN General Assembly, in December 1988, that the military would be reduced by half a million men.

The Red Army is thus demoralized, riven by internal strife, disaffected from the political authorities, and increasingly independent of the KGB's traditional supervision. It does not follow that the Army will try to stage a coup against Gorbachev. Clearly, however, the Army is an important element in the spreading anarchy. And in such circumstances nothing can be ruled out. —BRIAN CROZIER

Mr. Crozier, an NR *contributing editor, is the author of, most recently,* The Gorbachev Phenomenon.

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field beam weapons, such as lasers to blind electro-optical sights and air crews, and radio-frequency weapons and particle-beam projectors to burn out electronics.

In the air, the Soviets are hard at work on follow-on designs for the MiG-29 and SU-27 all-weather multirole fighters, both of which only entered service in the 1980s. Meanwhile, the U.S. is cutting back funds for its own Advanced Tactical Fighter (many in Congress want the program canceled) and the various European programs for a new fighter are experiencing technical and financial problems.

Relativity Theory

ABOVE ALL, however, what counts in conflict is not absolute force levels, but relative capabilities. If virtually all U.S. combat units are withdrawn from Europe, the army of a unified Germany is reduced to half its current size, and substantial cuts are made by other NATO members, the Soviets' position could actually improve even as their forces decrease in numbers. A smaller, but harder-hitting and more mobile, Red Army might be able to blitz its way through a NATO army that was only a shadow of its former self. As Lieutenant General Horst Jungkurth, Chief of Staff of the Luftwaffe, points out, the Soviet Union's "geostrategic advantage of interior lines allows a rapid concentration of forces." Further, massive numerical superiority is not necessary across the entire front, only at the decisive points. In short, a combination of Western disarmament and Soviet military modernization may make a numerically smaller Red Army a greater strategic threat.

Advocates of a "peace dividend" claim that $30 billion could be saved annually if half the U.S. troops deployed in Europe were brought home. Yet this would be true only if these units were not only withdrawn but also disbanded. The additional cost of keeping troops in Germany rather than Texas is small next to the total cost of personnel, fuel, weapons, and supplies that these units need simply to exist wherever they are located.

Many Americans—including some conservatives—see defense cuts as a way to balance the federal budget without raising taxes. The nation has given in to this kind of penny-wise, pound-foolish thinking before. After the 1930 London Naval Treaty, President Hoover initiated major cuts in warships in order to balance the budget, a decision that weakened deterrence later in the decade, with dire consequences. As Selig Adler said of this period in his classic book *The Isolationist Impulse*, "The treaties they made relied for enforcement only on the good will and the continued power of the Japanese liberals. Today we know this was a vain hope." The United States dares not risk providing a future historian with the material for making the same comment about our current policy. □

IRAQ'S BORDERS

LET'S TALK TURKEY

J. B. KELLY

ASSUMING, as one must (the alternative being too depressing to contemplate), that Saddam Hussein will be given his comeuppance, the question then arises how the menace of Iraq can be eradicated from the Middle East for a long time to come. By a happy chance, the Iraqi dictator himself has shown us the way, with his declaration that the invasion of Kuwait was prompted by the noble aim of wiping out the "artificial" frontiers imposed upon the Arab world by the imperial powers, frontiers whose only purpose was to divide the great Arab nation. Good enough: let's begin with the frontiers of Iraq.

Mr. Kelly is the author of, among other works, Arabia, the Gulf, and the West.

Up until the First World War the territory making up the present state of Iraq lay within the bounds of the Ottoman Empire. It was organized for administrative purposes into three *vilayets* (provinces)—Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul—each ruled by a *vali* (governor general), usually a pasha of three tails. When, after the defeat of Turkey and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, Britain set out to create the kingdom of Iraq, she wanted for strategic reasons (the defense of India and the security of communications between the Mediterranean and the Gulf) to make the new state as large and as economically viable as possible. To do this, she proposed to the League of Nations, from which she had received a mandate to govern the new kingdom, that it should incorporate all three of the former Ottoman *vilayets*.

The Turks were not at all pleased with the idea. Having agreed fairly amicably to renounce title to those former Ottoman provinces where the Arabs formed a substantial majority, they were prepared to surrender sovereignty over the Baghdad and Basra *vilayets*. The Mosul *vilayet*, abutting on Turkey proper, was another matter. Here the major ethnic group was the Kurds, numbering five hundred thousand out of a total population for the *vilayet* of eight hundred thousand. The remainder consisted of Arabs, Nestorian Christians, Chaldeans, and Yazidis (devil worshippers). The Kurds controlled two of the three main towns, Sulaimaniya and Kirkuk, while the Arabs, who numbered about 120,000 all told, were dominant in Mosul, which stood on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite the ruins of Nineveh, capital of the ancient Assyrian empire. Relations between the Arabs and Christians were far from harmonious. In contrast, the Kurds, themselves Sunni Muslims, lived on friendly terms with the Christians.

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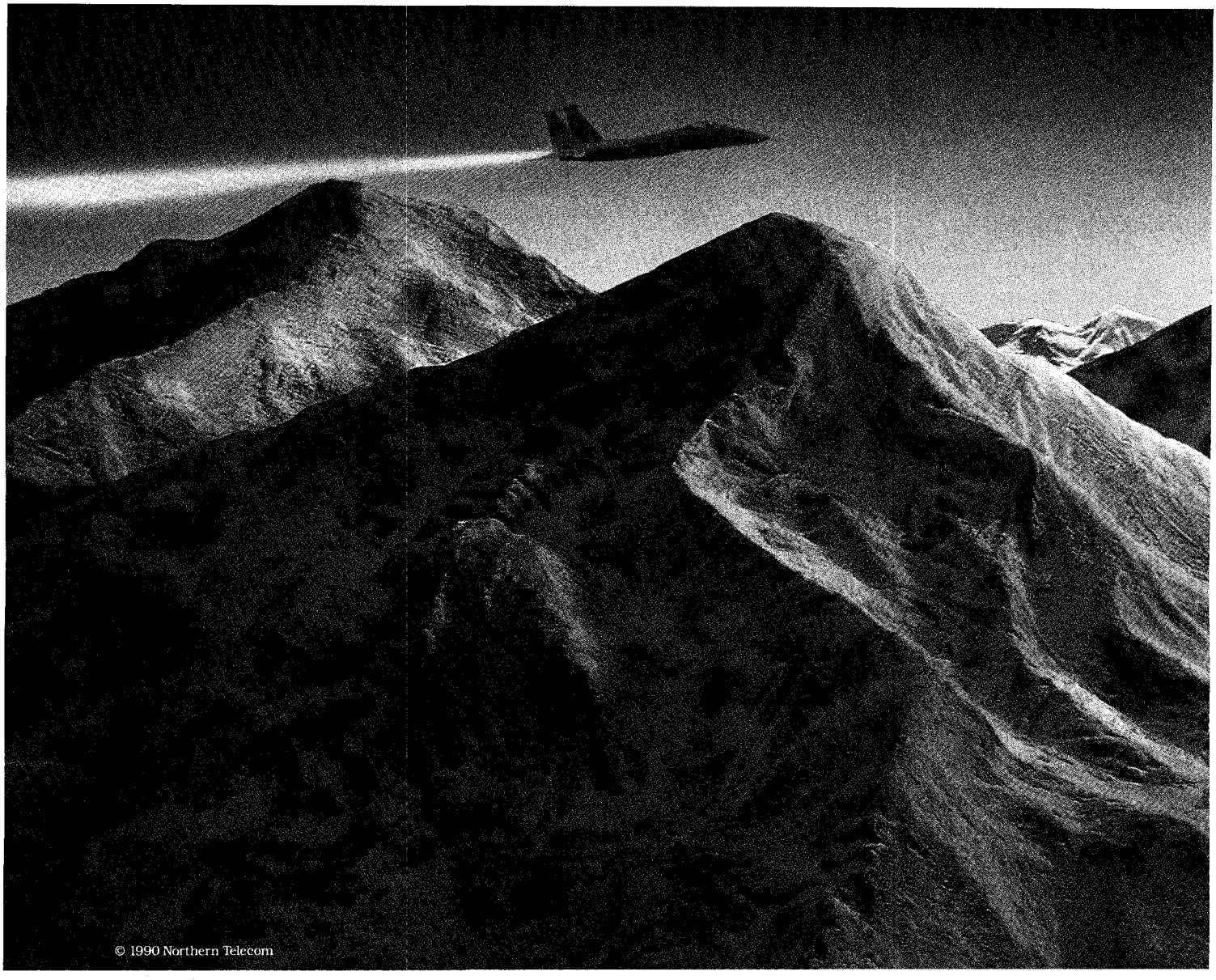

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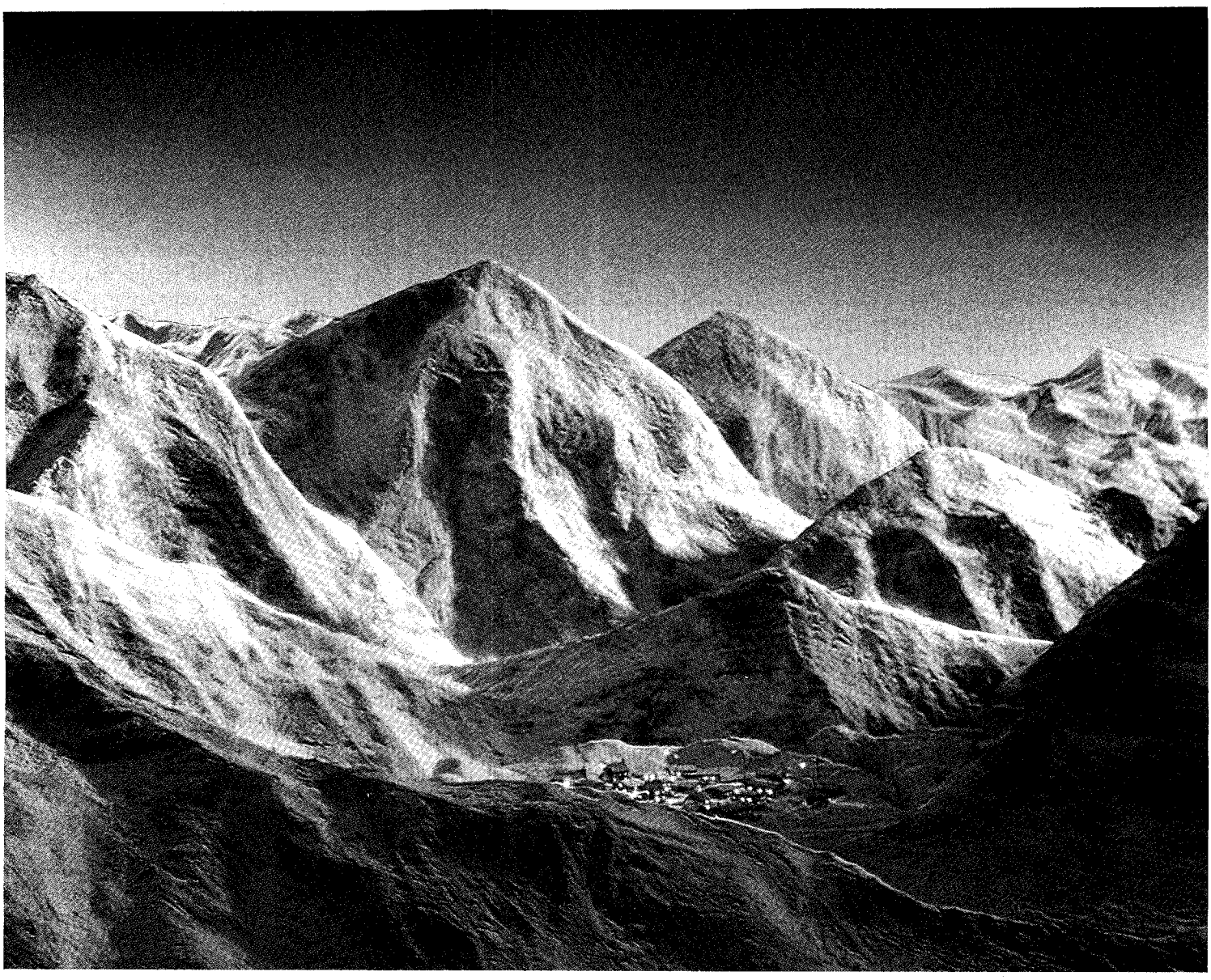

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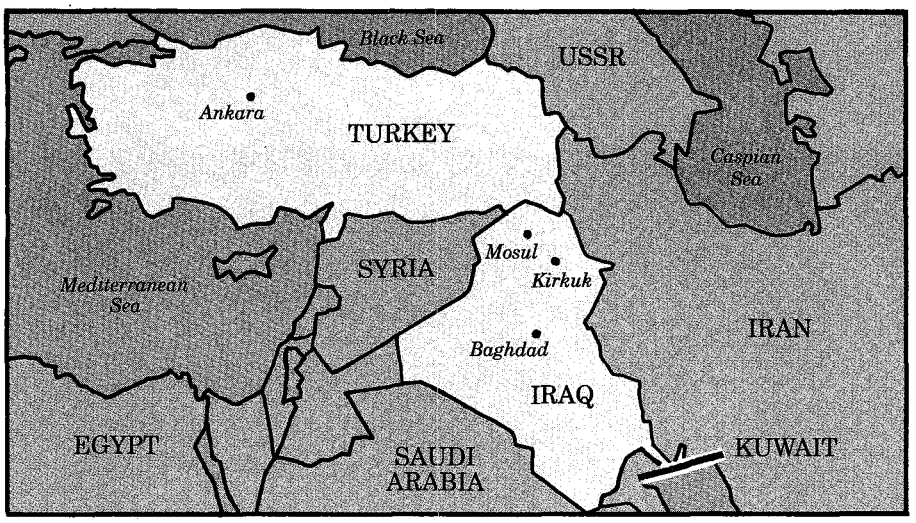

At the Paris Peace Conference the Kurds tried and failed to win the great powers' acceptance of the idea of an independent Kurdistan embracing the Mosul *vilayet*, the lands of the Turkish Kurds, and those of the Persian Kurds. When the British military administration in the Mosul *vilayet* carried out a series of referenda in 1921 to secure its inhabitants' acceptance of the Hashemite prince, Faisal ibn Husain (T. E. Lawrence's *bel ami*), as king of Iraq, only the Arabs of Mosul voted for him in any numbers. The Kurds of Kirkuk refused to take the oath of allegiance, while the Kurds of Sulaimaniya rejected the very notion of inclusion in Iraq and shortly afterward rose up in armed rebellion against the British.

The Kurds' cause was taken up by the Turks, not exactly from urgings of pure altruism, at the Lausanne Conference (November 1922 to July 1923), called to revise the peace treaty imposed on Turkey by Britain in 1920 (the Treaty of Sèvres). The Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24, 1923, left the question of the northern frontiers of Iraq in abeyance because of the Turks' stubborn insistence upon retaining the Mosul *vilayet*. Further negotiations over the next 12 months failed to resolve the issue, so in August 1924 Britain referred it to the League of Nations. The Turks were not averse to the League's deciding the matter, but they wanted the decision to be based on a plebiscite in the *vilayet*. The British, for their part, preferred an inquiry by a commission appointed by the Council of the League.

The British won the argument, and in January 1925 the League commission of inquiry (made up of a Hungarian, a Swede, and a Belgian) arrived in the *vilayet*. The commissioners found hardly a trace of pro-Iraqi sentiment among the inhabitants. The Kurds were pro-Kurd and anti-Iraq; the Christians and Yazidis preferred Turkish rule to Iraqi, unless Iraq remained under British control; even many of the Arabs, especially the poorer ones, were pro-Turkish. Nevertheless the commissioners recommended that the *vilayet*, including the *sanjaq* (governorate) of Sulaimaniya, be attached to Iraq, their reason being that inclusion in the kingdom would bring greater economic benefits to its people. However, the commissioners attached two conditions to their recommendation. One was that the area concerned should remain under League of Nations (i.e., British) mandate for 25 years—unless Iraq should be admitted to membership in the League before that period elapsed. The second condition was that the Kurds should be given a substantial degree of administrative autonomy—something which both the British and King Faisal had solemnly promised them in December 1922. Were one or the other of these conditions not fulfilled, then it would be better, the commissioners advised, for the *vilayet* to remain under Turkish rule, since Turkey was a much more stable country than Iraq.

The Council of the League accepted these recommendations, along with the attached conditions, in December 1925. A month later Britain concluded a treaty with King Faisal reaffirming the British mandate over Iraq. Iraq's frontier with Turkey was laid down definitively in a tripartite treaty signed by Britain, Turkey, and Iraq in June 1926. Britain procured Iraq's admission to the League five years later, whereupon Iraq automatically assumed the obligations toward the Kurds decreed by the Council.

No one should need reminding how successive Iraqi governments over the past forty years, and more particularly the last twenty, have failed spectacularly to honor these obligations. The Kurds have been hammered again and again, their towns and villages shelled by the Iraqi army and bombed by the Iraqi air force. Thousands upon thousands of Kurds have been slaughtered over the years, most recently by means of poison gas, and thousands more have been uprooted from their lands and transported to the deserts south of Baghdad. A redressing of the terrible wrongs done to the Kurds is long overdue; but soon, one hopes, we shall have the chance to impose it. After Saddam Hussein and his detestable regime have been dealt with, northern Iraq—i.e., the old *vilayet* of Mosul—should be allowed to revert to Turkey, under a United Nations guarantee, if necessary (the Turks can be relied upon to honor it), of a substantial degree of internal autonomy for the Kurds. Those Kurds banished to southern Iraq should be returned to their homelands, and the colonies of Arabs that the government in Baghdad has implanted in the Kurdish homelands be sent packing.

Talking Turkey

PERHAPS THE greatest strategic benefit that would accrue from the reversion of the Mosul *vilayet* to Turkey would be that the oil-bearing areas of Kirkuk and Mosul would come under Turkish trusteeship or sovereignty. Not only would the transfer of ownership bring about a welcome and well-deserved transformation of Turkey's economy, but it would deprive the truncated Iraqi state of the revenues which up to date have been largely devoted to mischief-making. The Iraqi rump would not be wholly deprived of oil revenue: it would still have a trickle of oil from the Khanaqin field in the east, and a steadier flow from the North Rumaila field in the south. Together, these should suffice to finance a modest program of economic reconstruction, the reintegration into civilian life of Iraq's redundant soldiery, and the payment of reparations to the Kurds on a scale commensurate with their past sufferings. □

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BANKING DOMINOES?

A RUN FOR OUR MONEY

ROBERT STOWE ENGLAND

THAT PRECIOUS commodity, public trust, is taking another major beating, this time over the state of the banking industry. America was already neck deep in the savings-and-loan crisis when the first glimmers of a second financial trauma appeared. In May, the Bush Administration revealed that the reserve fund of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)—the insurance fund that guarantees deposits in the nation's banks—was at its lowest point ever.

Instead of grabbing this new crisis by the neck and facing it squarely, FDIC Chairman L. William Seidman assured the public it wasn't as bad as it looked, even though the banking industry had suffered a string of failures the likes of which hadn't been seen since the Great Depression.

Congress set up the FDIC after four thousand banks failed in 1933 alone. Failures fell to 61 in 1934, and stayed below one hundred a year until 1943; from 1943 to 1981 bank failures were almost unheard of, usually fewer than ten a year. In the early 1980s the number rose to about fifty a year, then jumped to 120 in 1985; there were 206 in 1989. Most of these banks were small, but three major ones failed, Continental Illinois in Chicago (1984, $33.6 billion in assets), First RepublicBank in Dallas (1988, $32.7 billion), and First City Bancorporation in Houston (1988, $11.2 billion).

In spite of fresh signs of trouble throughout the first quarter of this year, Seidman thought the cycle of failures had peaked. In the spring he happily predicted that the fund's reserve balance of $13.2 billion would rise by the end of the year, and that we could all ignore that sinking feeling in our taxpaying stomachs.

A scant three months later Seidman took off his rose-colored glasses and announced that the FDIC's reserves, so far from rising, would fall another $2 billion by year's end. Suddenly that old sinking feeling was back. It was time to wonder: Is Washington now finally telling the truth? Or is Seidman playing captain of a banking *Titanic* telling us not to worry, the system is unsinkable?

For starters, for the reserve fund to fall by $2 billion the FDIC would have to spend $6 billion on failed banks. That's because the fund will bring in $4 billion in income—$3 billion from the premiums it charges insured banks, and another $1 billion in interest. In saying the reserve fund will drop $2 billion, Seidman was saying that the FDIC would spend half again as much as it would collect.

Moving to control the damage, Seidman called for a 50 per cent increase in premiums paid by the banks; the FDIC's board of directors went him one better, raising the premium a whopping 60 per cent, the steepest rise in the FDIC's history. This is supposed to add another $1.1 billion to the reserves. But Seidman has stopped making predictions.

Second Time Around

THIS IS the second time this year a Bush Administration official has had to recant a rosy prediction about the nation's financial institutions. In the spring Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady increased official projections of the cost of the S&L bailout from $113 billion to between $143 and $183 billion. Some analysts believe that even the new figures are too low. "It was an astounding deception of the American public," says banking scholar Dan Brombaugh of Stanford University, who claims Brady knew that the bailout was going to be more expensive than he admitted. Brady, after all, has full access to confidential reports of FSLIC (the S&L deposit-insurance agency) and the FDIC. Furthermore, Brombaugh adds, the Bush Administration knows full well the banking crisis is far worse than it now admits.

Banking Cassandras like Brombaugh, once ignored, are starting to get an audience. Even before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, banks were reeling from bad loans for commercial real estate and highly leveraged firms. They were tightening credit all around to meet higher capital standards and to improve their own credit ratings, which had recently been lowered by the rating agencies to reflect the growing portfolio of bad loans. Non-performing loans for the 12,500 banks reporting to the FDIC rose in the first quarter of 1990 to $61.6 billion, from $57.7 billion a year earlier. Insured banks have $2.5 trillion in deposits and $2.02 trillion in outstanding loans. The total real-estate exposure, including commercial and residential, is $770 billion. Last year the FDIC began to collect data on highly leveraged transactions (HLTs)—loans to highly indebted companies—but it has not yet released this information.

Kuwait, meanwhile, has thrown all previous calculations into disarray. The Gulf crisis might lead to a recession; it might actually help some areas; or it might have no net effect at all. But in any case it adds uncertainty to an already delicate situation.

Confidence was further shaken in August when the FDIC—which had been insisting that none of the 1,058 problem banks on its list (now down to 1,033) was insolvent—came perilously near to having to close a high-profile bank in the nation's capital. The close call was averted when Riggs Bank agreed to take over the National Bank of Washington (NBW). If the FDIC had shuttered NBW, the closing would have cost $1 billion. Riggs Chairman Joe Allbritton, however, bought NBW with the understanding that he could later dump any of its problem loans back into the FDIC's lap.

With each passing month, the commercial-real-estate market gets worse. The fate of Donald Trump seems to capture the drama. The New Jersey Casino Control Commission recently disclosed that Trump may have a negative net worth of $300 million, and that his three Atlantic City casinos were still hemorrhaging red ink. Trump must now try to convince junk-bond holders in his casinos to swap

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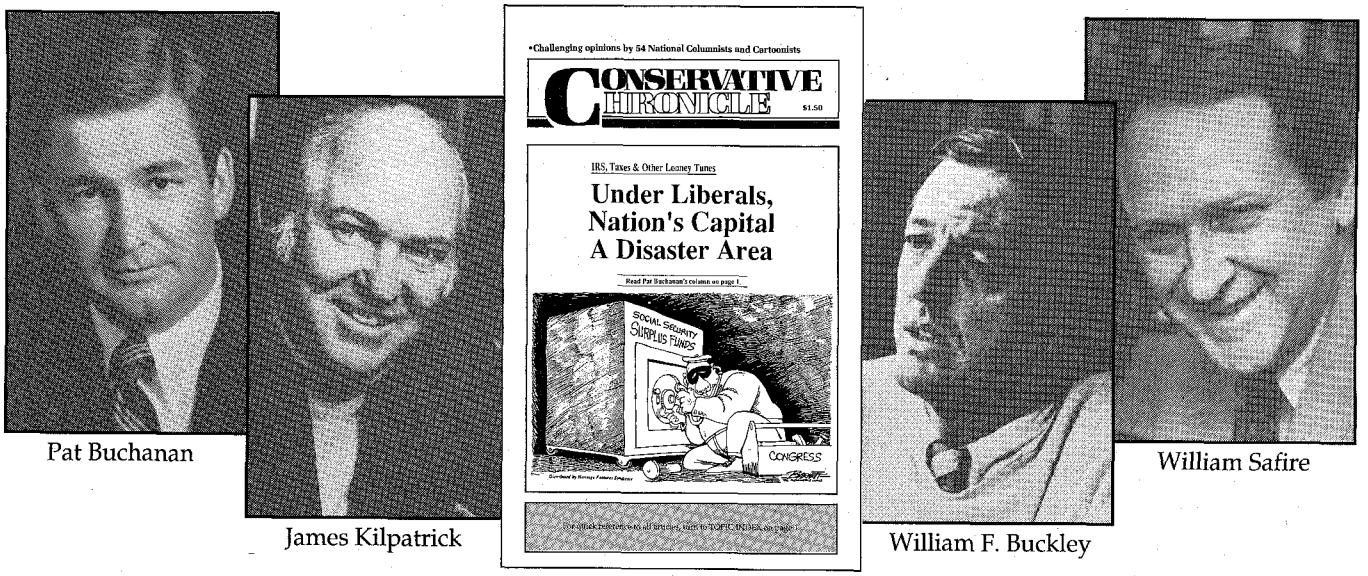

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some of their $1.2 billion in debt for equity in the casinos. He also must come up with $47 million in interest on the Taj Mahal casino's junk bonds in November, a prospect that looks doubtful. Meanwhile Trump has pledged the equity in all three of his casinos as collateral for his bailout by the banks, led by Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, and Manufacturers Hanover. If Trump pulls a deuce in November, then this whole house of cards will come down and the banks may have to absorb $2 billion in losses.

Behind the Smokescreen

YET ALL these problems are concealed behind a smokescreen of optimism at the FDIC. To get behind this smokescreen, the House Subcommittee on Financial Institutions contracted last April with three researchers to look harder for weaknesses in the system. The trio of Cassandras comprises Brombaugh, Brookings Institution economist Robert Litan, and James Barth, former chief economist of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. The study was requested by Frank Annunzio, Illinois Democrat and chairman of the subcommittee, who is facing a tough battle for his seat because of his high-profile relationship with the S&L industry. And the answers are hard to find because so much of the information is confidential.

Litan, the least pessimistic of the three researchers, believes that probably 150 to two hundred banks are insolvent, and that it would require $5 billion to close them down. Brombaugh is more pessimistic. He believes that five hundred banks with deposits of $42 billion have either exhausted their equity capital or slipped into negative net worth. In addition, another 250 banks with $30 billion in assets have been losing money fast enough to make them insolvent in market-value terms. Taking Brombaugh's estimates, one would forecast a net loss of perhaps $10 billion or more. Even if the FDIC moved immediately to close insolvent banks, it would take two years or more to complete the task, during which time the banks would be throwing good money after bad. If the FDIC waits, the insolvent banks' losses could begin to resemble the S&Ls'.

There are other pessimists—such as arch-Cassandra George Salem, a banking analyst at Prudential-Bache—who think the situation may be worse than even Brombaugh paints it. The heart of the problem, Salem says, is that the Federal Government has essentially adopted a "too big to fail" philosophy. That is, the government fears a domino effect, in which a big bank failure would cause many other business and farm failures, as happened in the Great Depression. Therefore, the government has to pay off all the depositors of a failed bank, even for amounts above the $100,000 the FDIC officially guarantees. Salem estimates the FDIC is actually underwriting the entire banking system's deposits, a mind-boggling $3 trillion. By his measure, the FDIC's reserves represent only 43 cents of each $100 in deposits, well below the generally accepted safety level of $1.25 per $100. Congress may help by reducing coverage to $100,000 per *depositor*, rather than per deposit. This would improve banking management at those banks that have not yet become insolvent, but would not be likely to stem further losses at banks already insolvent.

The only way to stop insolvent banks from gambling with their deposits is for the Federal Government to move quickly to close them. Seidman's announcement that he expects to be spending $2 billion above this year's FDIC revenues suggests the Administration is going to make some moves in that direction. If, however, a major bank fails (the Bank of New England, for instance, which lost $1.1 billion in 1989), then the current reserves would be inadequate. Some analysts worry that raising insurance premiums will cause bank profits to decline yet further, exacerbating the problem. But the important thing is to close the insolvent banks now. If raising the premiums seems too risky, Congress could vote for a special emergency fund, which House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez, a populist Democrat untainted by the S&L scandal, may yet call for.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to see that Washington should never have supplied deposit insurance in the first place, or should have provided it only for a year or two, to stabilize the chaos of the mid 1930s. The federal guarantee has rewarded sloth and favoritism and discouraged careful risk assessment. Private insurance would work better, because badly managed banks would pay sharply higher premiums or get no insurance at all. Well-managed banks would pay lower premiums. This would restore the incentive for banks to husband their deposits and carefully consider each and every loan. Deteriorating conditions would be detected early and actions taken to correct them.

Now is the time for the Bush Administration and Congress to start planning for the phase-out of federal deposit insurance, while the memory of its failures are fresh. Once private insurance is in place, the task of rescuing failed banks would fall on the private market, with the Federal Government acting only as the rescuer of last resort. And the market would have a chance to do what government cannot do: establish a moral hazard for bad risk takers. □

ELECTION 1990

REPUBLICAN PARTY: HOLDING ITS OWN?

RICHARD BROOKHISER

LIKE SOME beach-front property owner struggling with a sea-wall, the Republican Party entered this election year hoping to hold its own in Congress, or maybe even improve its position somewhat. Republican hopes rested on some basic political arithmetic. It is an old axiom of political lore that the party in the White House gets clobbered in off-year

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elections. Old, yet misleading—for the clobberings are unevenly distributed. Most of the great in-party debacles of the modern era—1938, 1946, 1958, 1966, 1974—occurred in the sixth year of an eight-year cycle. After only two years in office, the party that holds the White House tends to lose modestly in Congress or even to gain a few Senate seats. (The recession election of 1982 was an exception, from which the Republican contingent in the House has not yet recovered.)

Republicans wanted badly to do well this fall, in order to be in a good position for 1992. That election will be the political equivalent of a Wall Street triple witching hour: it will be a presidential year; it will be the first election with the new congressional districts based on the 1990 census; and it is bound to be a year with a record number of open seats, since the grace period allowing congressmen to take their unspent campaign war chests with them into retirement will have expired. The GOP would dearly like to enter that election at something better than a nadir.

It was hard to imagine, finally, how the Republican position could erode much further, at least as far as the House was concerned. The one good thing about hitting bottom is that there's no way to go but up.

This was the oddsmaker's view of the election. As the campaign season has progressed, the odds have been changed, as they always are, by the influence of issues. It looks, as of August, as if the Republicans could still pick up some ground, or at least not lose much. But the hope is uncertain, in part because the Republicans have undercut themselves.

Ten months ago, the issue that had Republicans spooked like sheep under a helicopter was abortion. Marshall Coleman and Jim Courter, the party's gubernatorial candidates in Virginia and New Jersey, had fudged and fudged their anti-abortion records, and still they went down before the assault by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). After years of saying that abortion belonged in the voting booths, not the courts, Republicans discovered that the voters seemed to want to deep-six anti-abortion candidates. The party had seen the future and it looked like Lynn Martin and Claudine Schneider, the pro-abortion Republican representatives running for the Senate in Illinois and Rhode Island, respectively. Lee Atwater hastily pitched the big tent.

The panic began to lift in April, when Pennsylvania's Democratic pro-life governor, Robert Casey, turned back a pro-choice primary challenge. So did each of the pro-lifers in the Pennsylvania legislature that the NARALites had targeted. Equally important, Peg Luksick, a pro-life housewife from Harrisburg, made an underfinanced, last-minute run in the GOP primary against Barbara Hafer, the handpicked pro-choice candidate, and managed to get 46 per cent of the vote. The press downplayed the story, but the Beltway took note. The new conventional wisdom acknowledged that Coleman and Courter had lost because of their fudging, not their records. Opposing abortion was not necessarily life-threatening after all. "So long, silver bullet," wrote the *Washington Post*'s Mark Shields.

That doesn't mean that the party's waffling won't hurt it. Socially conservative Democrats like the Casey supporters in Pennsylvania—who usually don't have Democratic Caseys to vote for—may simply sit the election out. If the GOP as a whole projects an image that "abortion is not important to it," says Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation, "the conservative swing voter will think it's not worth it" to bestir himself. Some Republicans try to turn the prospect of a generally low turnout around by arguing that pro-life organizations should mobilize. "To the extent an ideologically focused group can get its people out" for pro-life candidates, says Curt Anderson of the Republican Senate Committee, "it will have more effect this year than it otherwise would."

The GOP's Silver Bullet

IF THE Republican gun held a silver bullet coming into this campaign, it was taxes. The press had played the victory of California's Proposition 111—a proposal to raise money for highway improvement through a five-cent-per-gallon gas tax—as the end of the tax revolt, but this was premature. Colorado, Illinois, Nebraska, Oregon, and that old hotbed, Massachusetts, all have anti-tax measures on the ballot, some of them quite sweeping—Colorado's would require a direct popular vote on tax increases. And in New Jersey, Governor James Florio's sweeping tax hikes have been met with ferocious resistance. All Proposition 111 proved was that voters were willing to raise specific levies for specific purposes. Resentment of property taxes and income taxes was still strong. Tapping into it was especially helpful for Republican social liberals like Lynn Martin, who needed a way to energize conservative supporters.

Lisa Haney

Then George Bush melted the bullet. Republican candidates responded with cries of, "George Who?" (Senatorial candidates cried it a little less vigorously, since they depend on George Who for those $250,000 fundraisers.) But the Republicans' rhetorical difficulties have become immense: "The President has matured on the tax issue," Senator Democrat will say, "and in time you will too." Republican fundraising has also suffered, though the Republican National Committee will deny it vigorously. "We've gotten fundraising pieces back with lips drawn on them," a gnome confided to me. Still, Republicans hope to get some mileage out of spending: if

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George Bush had a Republican Congress, so the argument runs, we wouldn't have to talk about raising taxes. But, as Jude Wanniski points out, this old Republican strategy plays into an equally old Democratic one. "Democrats love to be blasted as spenders, because their constituents want money to be spent on them."

S&L Bombshell

THE POLITICAL world is treating the S&L bailout as if it were the silver fragmentation bomb. Incumbents are expected to be hurt by it whether or not they had ties to the industry. Congressmen with small majorities are especially endangered: Oregon Republican Denny Smith, for example, who beat state legislator Mike Kopetski by only 707 votes, pre-S&L, and who now must face Kopetski again; or the aging Illinois Democrat Frank Annunzio, facing Walter Dudycz. But if the issue hurts all incumbents, and since more incumbents are Democrats, doesn't it benefit the GOP? Think again. Because of gerrymandering, notes Burton Pines of the Heritage Foundation, more House Democrats than House Republicans win with majorities in the 65 per cent range. "If there is an across-the-board, damn-the-incumbents mood, it may hurt Republicans more, because of the smaller cushion," says Pines. "Republicans have to make the issue cronyism: No one came to us, because we didn't run the committees." The GOP may yet conclude that it drove Jim Wright and Tony Coelho from office a year early. Hence its efforts to re-Democratize the scandal by shrinking the Keating Five (which includes one Republican senator, John McCain) to the more egregious Keating Three (all Democrats—Alan Cranston, Dennis DeConcini, Donald Riegle—none of whom, however, is up this year).

It is hard to point to Senate races where taxes have become a cutting issue. But the knives are out on abortion. The big race here is Iowa, where pro-life Republican Tom Tauke has drawn the battle lines clearly against the Democratic incumbent Tom Harkin (see "Lazy Days, Busy Pols," *NR*, July 23). Ditto in Michigan, where the challenger, Representative Bill Schuette, takes a hard line on abortion, in sharp contrast to the incumbent, Democrat Carl Levin. The Nebraska Coalition for Life, which had previously supported Democratic incumbent James Exon, has switched to former Representative Hal Daub, in part because of Exon's vote against Judge Bork. In Kentucky, the Democratic challenger, Harvey Sloane, who converted to pro-abortion early this year, is having his commercials prepared by the same folks who flacked for the Virginia victor, Douglas Wilder, last year. But this time the Republican, incumbent Mitch McConnell, is ready for the attack, if it comes.

The Republican Party made a concerted effort to recruit the strongest possible Senate candidates. Several representatives with safe-ish seats chose to try to step up. This affects the GOP's House prospects, since four of them—Lynn Martin, Claudine Schneider, Tom Tauke, and Patricia Saiki, the only Republican ever elected to the House from Hawaii—represent districts carried by Michael Dukakis and, thus, possible Democratic pickups. Several House contests are replays of races that resulted in narrow Democratic victories in 1988—Philip Sharp (D.) *v.* Mike Pence (R.) in Indiana; Bill Hefner (D.) *v.* Ted Blanton (R.) and James Clarke (D.) *v.* Charles Taylor (R.) in North Carolina. Two freshmen, Jolene Unsoeld (D., Wash.) and Craig James (R., Fla.), won last time by less than a thousand votes, while Tommy Robinson carried his Arkansas district with a solid 83 per cent—though he has switched parties (Democratic to Republican) in the meantime. There will be a lot more such switches, I am told, if Republicans do well in the next few years. This is only about the eightieth time I've heard the story about the Switching Democrats, but I pass it along, as I would the latest Bigfoot sighting.

The fact is, no one is going to be switching to anything if the Republicans can't gain the initiative now. Bush could still retrieve the tax issue, Pines suggested, by announcing, "I put this on the table, and the Democrats haven't done anything." Wanniski thinks Saddam Hussein might make a handy peg: the possibility of an oil shock means that "now everything has changed. Bush could ask Congress to dust off the capital-gains tax in the fall, that George Mitchell and Bill Bradley blocked. Either Mitchell would permit it, or not. If he did" the tax-cutters "would win the vote. If he didn't, we'd have a true Reaganaut argument." It is even conceivable that the Gulf crisis itself could boost Republican prospects, though foreign policy is traditionally remote from congressional politicking.

In fact, Bush's future relations with Congress look much like his future relations with Iraq—a tense stalemate against a dug-in, powerful foe. Try to build a wall against that. □

AMERICA'S EUROPEAN POLICY

IS EUROPE ON THE ROAD TO SERFDOM?

TIM CONGDON

THE EVENTS in the Gulf have made Americans aware once again that their European allies are not a homogeneous mass of more or less identical states, but instead differ sharply in their preparedness to support the U.S.A.'s international peace-keeping role. As in other episodes of this kind since 1945, Britain has been more eager than the others to associate itself with the American position. But it is important to realize that, largely because of Mrs. Thatcher's work in transforming the economy over the last decade, Britain differs from the rest of Europe in another, even more basic respect.

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Most Americans are probably pleased by the Franco-German push for European political and monetary unification. If imitation is the highest form of flattery, emergence of a United States of Europe would be the warmest compliment that the old continent could pay to the United States of America. Even better, with the Eastern bloc apparently moving toward market capitalism as well, Americans may feel that they are at last earning their reward for all the money they have spent on Europe in the last fifty years. Lend–Lease, Marshall aid, and defense expenditures within NATO—those key decisions in American foreign policy since 1940 will have been vindicated.

But would a United States of Europe be in the image of the United States of America? Would it be committed frankly to free enterprise and individual liberty? Would it be a nation—or, at least, a political entity—where it was regarded as good etiquette for politicians to advocate capitalism and the minimization of the state? Or would its guiding public philosophy instead have avowedly socialist aspects, sometimes put the state before the individual, and see validity in various forms of so-called "social" action?

It is easy and probably correct to say that, because of the evident failure of Communism, a future United States of Europe would retain a market economy. But it is important to be aware of other pressures and influences. West Germany has always understood itself to have a "social market economy," not a free market economy; France and Spain have Socialist presidents and their parliaments have Socialist majorities; and the European Commission has pressed member states to adopt a Social Charter which is undoubtedly interventionist in spirit.

Moreover, one of the dominant tendencies in the European Community is to "harmonize" taxes, regulations, and welfare arrangements, in order that the member countries can "progress" or "advance" to political integration. Implicit here is the view that countries pursuing distinctive economic and social policies may behave unfairly toward the rest. The phrase "social dumping"—used to describe countries with low levels of social-security provision and correspondingly high attractiveness to internationally mobile capital—reflects this concern. An important motive of the Social Charter is to prevent a capitalist-minded member of the European Community from competing too hard with the socialist-inclined members, which at present make up the majority.

It is well known that Mrs. Thatcher is more skeptical about European Monetary Union and visionary plans for political integration than President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl. It is perhaps less well known that her suspicion stems largely from a fear that the European Community is going too far toward bureaucracy, centralization, and a vague Euro-semi-socialism. She sees many of the "social" initiatives now emanating from the European Commission as an attempt to isolate Britain because of the unduly capitalist spirit of her government's policies.

Mrs. Thatcher's position may be easier to understand if we look at the behavior of government spending in Britain and other European countries in the 1980s. Of course, the ratio of government spending to gross domestic product is important not only as a measure of the strain placed on a nation's resources by government policy, but also because it largely determines tax rates. Europe cannot be fiscally harmonized if one country has a much smaller government sector than the others.

The key numbers are set out in the accompanying table. In 1980 the four large European countries—West Germany, France, Britain, and Italy—were quite close to one another in the ratio of government spending to GDP, all lying between 41 and 49 per cent. The smaller countries were more divergent, with a marked contrast between the large welfare states of the Northern European countries, such as Denmark and the Netherlands, and the low levels of government spending in the Mediterranean countries, such as Spain, Portugal, and Greece.

In the early 1980s the rankings began to change. The tight control over government spending in Britain had the effect of reducing the state share of GDP from almost 48 per cent in 1981 to a little over 43 per cent in 1987. During the boom of the late 1980s this trend was reinforced by the buoyancy of the economy, which reduced unemployment benefits and other forms of social security, and also caused GDP to grow faster than spending on health, education, and other categories little affected by the business cycle. By 1989 government spending was less than 40 per cent of GDP.

Meanwhile other European countries followed their own paths. West Germany went in the same direction as Britain, but did not go so far. The government share of GDP fell from 48 per cent in 1980 to under 45 per cent last year. However, France and Italy experienced significant rises in the public-spending share. In France this was concentrated in the early years of the Mitterrand government, but it has not been reversed by the more pragmatic policies subsequently. In Italy the growth of state expenditure has not yet been properly checked, and this is a particular problem because of the unsustainable increase in the ratio of public debt (and debt interest) to GDP.

The behavior of government spending in the Mediterranean countries was, if anything, even more remarkable. They embarked

GOVERNMENT OUTLAYS AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP

	1968	1979	1980	1983	1985	1987	1989
UK	39.1	42.7	44.9	46.9	46.2	43.2	38.8
Portugal	20.9	36.2	25.9	47.9	43.4	42.8	41.8
Spain	21.3	30.5	32.9	38.8	42.1	43.0	43.2
Ireland	32.5	46.8	50.8	55.3	54.5	49.8	43.8
West Germany	39.1	47.6	48.3	48.3	47.5	46.8	44.3
Greece	23.5	29.7	30.5	38.2	43.7	43.0	44.8
France	40.3	45.0	46.1	51.4	52.2	51.8	50.5
Netherlands	43.9	55.8	57.5	62.2	59.7	60.1	56.9
Denmark	36.3	53.2	56.2	61.6	59.3	58.3	57.2
Italy	34.7	45.5	41.9	48.6	50.8	50.7	49.8

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on a decade of unprecedented fiscal expansionism, with the share of government spending climbing from about 30 per cent in 1980 to almost 45 per cent today. The rapid growth of public spending in these countries is perhaps best interpreted as a move toward Northern European standards of welfare provision, following the replacement of right-wing military dictatorships by democratic and often left-leaning governments. The Mediterranean countries are therefore no longer particularly vulnerable to the charge of social dumping

Goodbye Welfare State

IT IS clear that the British approach has been distinctive. Indeed, Britain now has the lowest ratio of government spending to GDP in Europe, an extraordinary outcome given its former reputation as the home of the Welfare State. Whereas public spending is 50 per cent of GDP or higher in France, Italy, and all of Northern Europe except West Germany, it is under 40 per cent in Britain. Three reasons for expecting the trends of the 1980s to persist into the 1990s need to be highlighted.

The first is that the British government is running a budget surplus, where other European governments have budget deficits. As a result Britain is repaying its national debt, and the ratio of debt interest to GDP is falling. Because public-sector finances are in such good shape today, the strain of servicing public debt in the future will be lighter. A virtuous circle is at work.

In the rest of Europe the persistence of deficits has denied governments this advantage. Moreover, the amalgamation of the two Germanies will clearly have a heavy fiscal cost. This cost will stem partly from the absorption of East Germany's own state deficit and partly from the assumption of new commitments by West Germany, to financing East German social security and infrastructure improvement. There is a high probability that—at least for a few years—the government-spending share of GDP in the newly united Germany will exceed 50 per cent, while its budget deficit will lie between 3 and 5 per cent of GDP.

Elsewhere in Europe the conduct of public-sector finances has been unhealthy for some years, and, in one or two cases, there is a risk that debt-interest costs will spiral out of control. Italy faces one of the worst problems. Its national debt is now higher than its GDP. With interest rates typically above 10 per cent, debt interest exceeds 10 per cent of GDP. By contrast, public debt is about 30 per cent of GDP in Britain, and the ratio has been falling by 2 or 3 per cent a year since the mid 1980s. If the Italians cannot improve their public finances soon, the cost of servicing past debts will act as a fiscal handicap in comparison to the rest of Europe. In fact, over the next few years Italy will have a tax-to-GDP ratio 6 to 7 per cent higher than Britain's.

Secondly, Britain has a different system of pension provision from the rest of Europe. In Britain over half of pension payments are funded by investment assets held by company pension schemes, personal retirement plans, and the like. In the rest of Europe, however, most pensions come from the state and are paid not from a fund set aside specifically for the purpose many years before, but from general government funds in the year concerned.

This difference ought to lead, systematically and permanently, to a lower ratio of government spending to GDP in Britain. In addition, whereas the proportion of the elderly to the total population will be rising steeply in most of Europe, it will be broadly stable in Britain until about 2010. The mismatch between the low cost of state pension provision in Britain and the high cost elsewhere will widen.

Finally, Britain spends a higher proportion of its GDP on defense than any other European nation (except Greece), partly as a legacy of its former status as a great power, partly because of its retention of the nuclear deterrent. If the present wave of reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is consolidated, defense spending will be cut across Europe. A country with an above-average level of defense spending should benefit disproportionately.

In summary, there is a good chance that by the mid 1990s the share of GDP given to public spending in Britain will have been lowered to 35 per cent; it certainly will remain under 40 per cent. Meanwhile, all the rest of Europe will be stuck at over 45 per cent, and some countries will be in the 55 to 60 per cent band. As far as this key economic characteristic is concerned, Britain will be an outlier in European comparisons. The Thatcher years will have clearly differentiated Britain from its neighbors.

Election Hurdle

OF COURSE, the argument is conditional to some extent on Britain's future political complexion. If the Labor Party were to gain control of Parliament at the next general election, which will be held either next year or in 1992, it would be strongly tempted to use Britain's divergence from the European average as a justification for large increases in public spending. Instead of following a distinctive path to a low-tax market capitalism, Britain might again turn to the homogenized semi-socialism which characterizes most of Europe. The difference between Britain and the rest of Europe would soon narrow.

This is possible. Much does indeed depend on the next election. However, the success of the Thatcher government in trimming the public sector has already had a great influence on the political debate. Within Britain itself, the Labor Party has made two promises that strictly limit its freedom of maneuver: that it will not raise the tax burden for the average man and that, although it will borrow "sensibly," it will keep the public sector's finances under control. If the promises are sincere, public expenditure could be permitted to rise by perhaps 3 or 4 per cent of GDP, but not by more.

But it is the wider European impact of Mrs. Thatcher's policies that really matters. M. Delors—the President of the European Commission and the leading advocate of so-called Euro-federalism—must be acutely aware that, if current trends are maintained, his vision of a fiscally harmonized and monetarily united Europe just cannot come true. If the ratio of government spending to GDP is much lower in Britain than elsewhere, it is unrealistic to expect tax rates to be the same across the whole continent. On the contrary, Britain is likely to favor fiscal competition, knowing that low tax rates will encourage inward investment and the immigration of professional people. Advocates of full British endorsement of the Delors Report say that, unless Britain is more positive

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about European monetary union, it runs the risk of "missing the boat," "not catching the bus," or suffering some other form of metaphorical transportation difficulty. They warn that there could be a two-speed Europe in the 1990s, with an inner core of countries moving faster toward integration than skeptical slow-coaches on the periphery, including Britain. Several British politicians holding this view, notably Mr. Michael Heseltine, appear to believe that industry and finance will be increasingly located in the core countries and that Britain will be marginalized by more dynamic neighbors.

Missing the Boat

HERE THE large issues in the debate intersect with the clash of personalities in the Conservative Party. In recent months Mr. Heseltine has tried hard to present himself as a viable alternative to Mrs. Thatcher, and he clearly wants to establish his own and very different kind of governing philosophy. Central to his message is a strong commitment to a new, if hazy, vision of "Europe."

He wants people to regard Mrs. Thatcher's skepticism toward some of the European Commission's recent initiatives as stridently anti-European and therefore, almost by definition, as bad. Isn't Mrs. Thatcher being small-minded, parochial, and retrograde, with her reluctance to accept a Social Charter which would strengthen the trade unions, her doubts about fiscal harmonization which would result in higher taxes, and her opposition to a higher Community budget which would finance further distortion of farm prices?

In fact, Mrs. Thatcher's antagonism to many recent developments in the European Community is best understood as a rear-guard action to defend everything she has accomplished over the last decade. If Britain were to accept without demur much that has come from Brussels in recent years, it could not remain the free-market outlier in an increasingly social-democratic Europe. It could not act so effectively as the champion of some of the most important ideals—including free markets, private property, low taxes, and minimization of state regulation—held by conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic.

Indeed, American conservatives are making a serious mistake if they think that a future United States of Europe would be made in the image of their U.S.A. The most active Euro-federalists today, notably M. Delors, are socialists whose views on personal freedom and the powers of the state have no resemblance to those of Alexander Hamilton. If they succeed, they will create a continent rather muddled in its political orientation, but mostly left of center in spirit and mood, and bureaucratic and interventionist in terms of practical institutions. By contrast, Mrs. Thatcher's brand of conservatism has much in common with Jeffersonian republicanism. Thatcherite conservatism needs American support if Europe is to evolve in the free-market, low-tax direction.

Britain is outnumbered in Europe, and Mrs. Thatcher is on the defensive in Britain. But all is not lost. Far from being marginalized in the late 1980s, Britain was able to attract more inward investment—in both manufacturing industry and financial services—than any other European country. On this criterion, Britain's abstention from the exchange-rate mechanism of the European Monetary System does not seem to have worried foreign businessmen.

Mrs. Thatcher may yet win the next general election. If so, there is every likelihood that the 1990s will indeed see a two-speed Europe, but it will not be the one expected by Mr. Heseltine and M. Delors. A low-taxed, lightly regulated, and debt-free Britain will outpace the high-taxed, heavily regulated, and debt-burdened nations of the inner core. □

THE OPEN QUESTION

GAY RIGHTS OR CLOSET VIRTUES?

THOMAS SHORT

AS MY DEBUT in these pages bore the title "Homophobia-phobia," it is not surprising that I read with particular interest Marvin Liebman's letter in the issue of July 9, and William Buckley's reply ["Notes & Asides"]. I was interested, too, because, like Mr. Liebman, I believe the conservative movement has been and continues to be limited by bigotry. However, the bigotry of which Mr. Liebman complains is that of some conservatives, whereas I hold that such bigotry is fading fast and has nothing to do with contemporary conservatism. The bigotry that bothers me is that of the Left. The Left tells black Americans that it isn't "black" to be conservative. It brings similar news to women. And it misdescribes conservative opposition to the "gay rights" movement as "gay-bashing." Conservatism, by contrast, represents no special interest. It stands, rather, for principles that apply to all and benefit all: an orderly society and limited government.

That said, it must nevertheless be admitted that conservatives have a special problem with homosexuality. As there is no conservative disapproval of dark skin, womanhood, old age, or Jewishness, there can be no problem welcoming people with those attributes to the conservative cause. But most conservatives (their libertarian allies not included) hold one or another of the following positions: that homosexual acts are contrary to God's will; that those acts are unnatural; or, at least, that unqualified and public approval of them threatens social stability. The frank interchange between Mr. Liebman and Mr. Buckley testifies to the capacity of homosexuals to adopt conservatism and of conservatives to respect homosexuals. However, that discussion did not answer these questions: If one disapproves of

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homosexual acts, on what basis can one respect and welcome homosexuals? Conversely, if one is homosexual, on what basis can one join forces with those who disapprove of homosexual acts?

Mr. Liebman goes so far as to argue that conservatism, "based as it is on the inherent rights of the individual over the state, is the logical political home of gay men and women." But that argument will convince none but libertarians. Others who oppose big government recognize that freedom also depends on moral character—on habits of self-control and customs of civility being diffused throughout the population. One conservative can disagree with another about which practices are immoral and which threaten social stability. In that sense there is room in the conservative movement for people with different views about homosexuality. But that is far from saying that conservatism is homosexuals' logical political home.

Why, however, should a homosexual choose his political home on the basis of that movement's attitude toward homosexuality? To suppose that he must is to slip into an error that is characteristic of the Left, a corollary of the Left's utopianism.

Utopianism rationalizes the Left's romance with power. Since man is perfectible, imperfection is intolerable. Therefore, the full power of the state should be used to root out each and every imperfection. A leftist must urge the "re-education of deviants" (as is done in Cuba), or else he must approve of homosexuality. The utopian must similarly regard his own flaws as remediable and therefore intolerable. Thus the utopian homosexual must either refrain from homosexual practices and expunge his urges or decide that homosexual activity is perfectly all right. There is no third alternative.

Conservatism, by contrast, is anti-utopian. It is built on the premise of man's fallen nature, or at least on the assumption of his imperfectibility. Thus, we recognize the limits of power: use of the state to attempt to force perfection can only result in worse abuses, as well as in the loss of our freedom. Correction of some faults must be left to private appeal and individual effort, no matter that such measures fail more often than not. Consistently with this political principle, we admit that each of us is imperfect, especially in matters of sexual morality. For that is the most problematic corner of that most problematic thing, human life. And anyone who disapproves of homosexual behavior must also disapprove, for the same reasons, of a wide range of heterosexual practices; certainly the Catholic Church does. Are practicing homosexuals worse than sinning heterosexuals? It varies by case: Casanova is not morally superior to Gertrude Stein.

Their utopianism forces leftists into intolerance of anything of which they do not approve. But tolerance is an American principle. To retain it, the American Left has had to redefine tolerance as approval. Consequently, the principle of tolerance has been made to give bastard birth to the doctrine of moral relativism. Genuine tolerance, which is tolerance of those with whom one disagrees or of whose behavior one does not wholly approve, thus becomes uniquely a conservative virtue. A practicing homosexual can remain on the Left only as long as the Left decides that homosexuality is just as good as heterosexuality, but he can join the Right even if conservatism condemns homosexual acts; and those on the Right who hold that same view can accept him for what he is, even though they do not approve of all that he does.

The Left's war on privacy, like its utopianism, skews homosexuals' choices. The Left seeks to politicize everything, including sex. It makes the private public, whereas the Right wants to preserve privacy. Private life is a place where faults which it is best to tolerate, but inimical to society to approve, may be abided. Radicals call that hypocrisy; conservatives call it discretion. Conservatives urge discretion in private life, and especially in all sexual relations, licit as well as illicit. We recognize that something important is thus preserved and something dangerous held at bay.

Now, the idea that one must be either in the closet or out of it is an invention of those who would politicize sex and abolish privacy. They wrongly make whatever is not publicly proclaimed seem secret, furtive. This dichotomy of being either in the closet or out of it should not exist. It does not exist for conservative homosexuals who understand what conservatism entails. They neither hide nor proclaim what they are. Their friends know, usually without having to be told; and others, who do not know, have no business knowing, any more than they have any business knowing about heterosexuals' private lives. We all have some secrets to keep.

It should be clear, then, why conservatives, including homosexual conservatives, must be opposed to "gay rights." Some demands made by "gay-rights" advocates deserve conservative support: the rights homosexuals share with everyone else should be protected. But in essence the "gay-rights" movement is an attack on privacy and on the very idea of sexual morality. It seeks public approval for every variant of sexual activity, at least among consenting adults, and it makes public display of one's sexuality the norm. It studiously avoids any thought that social cohesion and stability might be adversely affected by total sexual freedom; hence, it denies the virtue of discretion. This unsophisticated, not to say primitive and vulgar, attitude toward the most delicate and important of human relationships is utterly opposed to conservatism. □

"She got custody of the car and the house, but I never dreamed the court would go along with the tar and feathers!"

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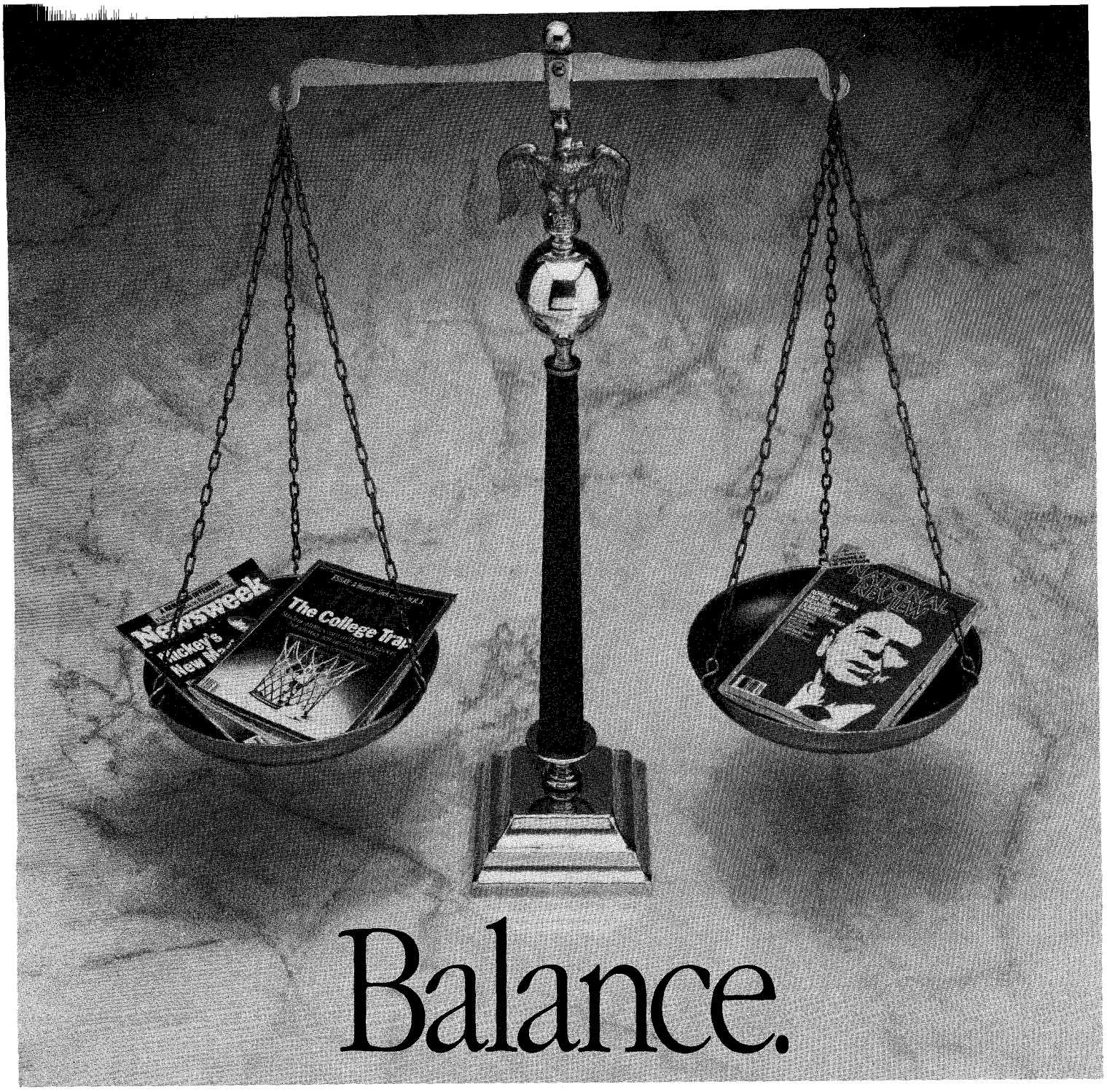

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Through the Cracks

WILLIAM TUCKER

THESE TWO BOOKS, along with E. Fuller Torrey's *Nowhere to Go*, offer a history of the "deinstitutionalization" of mental patients during the 1970s and 1980s. Of the three, Rael Jean Isaac and Virginia Armat's *Madness in the Streets* is incomparably the best.

Torrey's book, published last year, outlined how, under President John Kennedy, "community mental-health centers" were conjured up as a replacement for the old state mental hospitals, which had been branded as "snake pits"—and which were resented by the state governments because of their high costs.

Encouraged by the development of therapeutic drugs in the 1960s, the Federal Government began a policy of emptying the back wards. The most effective tool was the decision that the new Medicaid program would only reimburse treatment in "community centers," not in state hospitals.

But the community centers never materialized in large numbers. When they did, their staffs expressed much more interest in treating the "worried well" than in housing the chronically insane. As a result, tens of thousands of former patients fell through the cracks and onto the streets. That is the story as told both by Torrey and by Ann Braden Johnson.

Madness in the Streets, by Rael Jean Isaac and Virginia C. Armat (Free Press, 448 pp., $24.95)

Out of Bedlam, by Ann Braden Johnson (Basic Books, 352 pp., $22.95)

Rael Jean Isaac and Virginia Armat, however, lift the explanation to a whole new dimension. The real story of the last two decades, they argue, is not just that we have emptied the mental hospitals. The tens of thousands of former patients who have become "homeless" are only the tip of the iceberg. The real story is that we are no longer *treating* mental illness in this country. In fact, one might even say it is now illegal to treat mental illness. Over the last two decades, the practice of psychiatry has been virtually eviscerated by another profession—civil-libertarian law. As the saying goes, the lawyers are "trying to treat the insane with the wrong graduate degree."

As *Madness in the Streets* carefully documents, there have really been two "deinstitutionalizations." The first—described accurately in *Nowhere to Go* and *Out of Bedlam*—involved long-term patients, mostly the senile elderly. These people were relocated in nursing and boarding homes (which quickly led to the nursing-home scandals of the early 1970s).

Dan Reed

But that was only the beginning. With the 1970s came a completely different movement—"anti-psychiatry," born out of the writings of Thomas Szasz (*The Myth of Mental Illness*) and R. D. Laing (*The Divided Self*).

With the aid of civil-liberties attorneys, anti-psychiatry attacked the entire premise that mental illness is a disease that should be treated by trained professionals. Instead, the mental patient has become another "victim of oppression." Rather than suffering from pathological conditions that have been observed in every culture at all times throughout history, the mentally ill have suddenly become unwilling individuals who have only been "labeled" mentally ill by others. Their symptoms, rather than being clearly definable brain malfunctions, have become the effect of this "labeling"—plus the ordeal of having been kept in hospitals or treated by psychiatrists.

Mental patients were "prisoners of psychiatry." Their bizarre and incomprehensible thought patterns were only another constitutionally protected form of "free speech." As *Madness in the Streets* bluntly puts it, there is now a "right to be crazy." With astonishing ease, mental illness moved from being a clinical condition to being just another form of "victimization" in left-wing ideology.

By the early 1970s, angry ex-patients were picketing meetings of psychiatric associations, hallooing, "We're not crazy." As usual, the courts listened, and soon the entire mental-health system was dominated by legal proceedings. In most states, it now takes a full court hearing before a psychiatrist can prescribe basic therapeutic medicine. Mental-health clinics regularly take in troubled, obsessive, even violent people, board them for a few days, then turn them out, "cured" of all their "dangerous tendencies." Parents, siblings, and spouses—who are often being threatened and terrorized by these people—are left to cope with the problem. Not surprisingly, there have been many murders—both deranged people killing parents and spouses, and parents and spouses killing them.

Meanwhile, the old state hospitals have retreated behind a wall of bureaucratic indifference. Perfectly fulfilling Parkinson's Law, they have managed to increase their staff and budgets even while losing 80 per cent of their patients. Hemmed in by proce-

Mr. Tucker is the author of The Excluded Americans: Homelessness and Housing Policies *(Regnery Gateway).*

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dural rules and liability lawsuits, they want the funds without the bothersome burden of treating patients. As the saying in the profession goes, "It is easier to get admitted to an exclusive Ivy League university than it is to get into a state mental hospital."

Upon closer examination, of course, the concern of the civil libertarians for their new wards turns out to be the usual Machiavellian piety. One despairing mother of a "liberated" patient, in making an incognito visit to a civil-libertarian support group, heard the lawyers talk about a case that had been "successfully resolved" when a depressed young woman committed suicide. The "success" was that she avoided commitment to a state hospital.

In addition to learning the law, the patient liberationists have picked up all the civil-libertarian tricks for extracting subsidies from Washington. Even while advancing the myth of mental illness, mental-patient liberationists regularly collect millions of dollars in federal funds for "protection and advocacy" groups—plus another $6.5 billion in fiercely defended "mental-disability" benefits paid annually by Social Security Insurance.

What Rael Jean Isaac and Virginia Armat do not explore is the way in which the ACLU, even while pushing the psychiatrists to the fringes of their own profession, has welcomed them into criminal procedures as allies in expanding the insanity defense. Even while upholding the argument that "mental illness is just a myth," the ACLU simultaneously supports hundreds of death-penalty appeals on the grounds that every little character defect and past trauma actually constitutes a full-fledged psychiatric condition ("post-traumatic stress syndrome") that excuses any and all forms of violence.

At least Thomas Szasz, the founder of anti-psychiatry, is consistent. He argues that the insanity defense should be abolished. The ACLU—as usual—has it both ways.

Ann Braden Johnson's book, *Out of Bedlam*, is interesting only insofar as Mrs. Johnson herself is part of the problem. A psychiatric social worker in New York, she is a former supporter of deinstitutionalization who has changed her mind—without necessarily admitting that anyone was wrong.

After reviewing the anti-psychiatry theories of Szasz and Laing, she concludes:

> Unfortunately, the new ideas were only *ideas* about hospitals, custody, environments, care, and problems in living. Some of the ideas gave us brilliant insights into a phenomenon that had been too long neglected, and many of them were profoundly *right* and can never be ignored totally again. But ideas, however brilliant, profound, and morally correct, could not by themselves reshape the treatment facilities whose purpose and goal they had reframed and whose hidden agendas they had exposed. In our collective zeal to right the conceptual wrongs of hundreds of years, we forgot that theory and practice often diverge, and we forgot what chronic mental patients were like. [Emphasis in original.]

In psychiatry as in any other field, "Ideas have consequences."

Where Mrs. Johnson is most interesting is in recounting anecdotes from the front. One story is priceless.

> After one colleague left our hospital to become team leader at an in-patient unit at another state facility, he told me that he quickly learned that when all else failed, staff were expected to discharge patients to an address that turned out to be a vacant lot in a remote part of the city. One of the greatest advantages of this procedure was that the vacant lot was part of another state facility's "catchment area," or area of accountability, so that discharged patients could be expected to wind up on someone else's back ward when, inevitably, they needed to be rehospitalized.

In *Madness in the Streets*, meanwhile, we have an explanation of why America itself has become such a crazy place in which to live. Next time you hear about some tormented soul who has machine-gunned seven people in McDonald's, or a person terrorized by a deranged family member, don't be puzzled by the thought that "the system isn't working." That's the way the system is *designed* to work.

On the other hand, if you want to chart a course for bringing some sanity back into American life, start by reading *Madness in the Streets*. □

A Fairytale Gone Awry

JOE MYSAK

Feeding the Beast: How Wedtech Became the Most Corrupt Little Company in America, by Marilyn W. Thompson (Scribner's, 320 pp., $22.50)

Too Good to Be True: The Outlandish Story of Wedtech, by James Traub (Doubleday, 368 pp., $21.95)

HISTORY may rightly term the Wedtech scandal the Teapot Dome of the 1980s. But far from being merely a partisan matter for those on the other side to chortle about, it was, to twist the aphorism, a scandal to those who think and a tragedy to those who feel.

Viewed alongside the rich and gaudy canvas of the savings-and-loan disaster, of course, Wedtech is a mere hashmark on a timeline. But it epitomized the decade, founded on a conservative dream and damned by some of the means chosen to make that dream come true—in this case, government-run minority set-aside programs—as well as the usual assortment of thieves in high places.

The real story here is not the duplicity and dissembling of a malfeasant Ed Meese, as Miss Thompson believes it is. Nor is it properly treated as a heavy-handed morality play of an Administration chasing after fairytales, or the usual horrible example of Greed in Reagan's America, as Mr. Traub seems to think. No, if there is any moral to the story, it is Jeffersonian: the bigger government gets, and the more intrusive, the worse.

The very name of the company now connotes fraud on a massive scale. But the story of Wedtech began simply, with two poor mechanics with a vision of greatness, fighting against almost insurmountable odds in a machine shop in the South Bronx. The story ended with bankruptcy and jail sentences for most of those involved.

Too Good to Be True, the better of

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these two books, correctly puts the emphasis on the almost shocking venality that pervaded the business and politics of the Wedtech scandal. Writes Mr. Traub: "'Nobody wanted to say no,' as an official of the Small Business Administration, one of Wedtech's great benefactors, put it. And no one, or scarcely anyone, did say no. Wedtech made it in everyone's interest to say yes—through the projection of moral beauty, through political pressure, through stacks of cash stuffed in envelopes. The moral beauty gave the outsiders the justification for succumbing to the pressure and the money, and it gave even the insiders a pretext for breaking the law when it suited them."

"Destiny," Mr. Traub later observes, "sometimes seemed to escort Wedtech through the world with a lantern, looking for yet another dishonest man."

"Moral beauty" refers, of course, to the fact that Wedtech—or, as it was then styled, Welbilt—was a minority-owned firm, located in a crumbling slum that looked like Dresden after the firestorm, and which seemed to offer salvation to the downtrodden through hard work.

This was the "fairytale," the "noble sentiment," that Ronald Reagan believed in, and which Mr. Traub seems to disparage. As often happens, however, the "moral beauty" was more idealized in its presentation than a Maxfield Parrish painting. Wedtech was not, in fact, a minority-owned firm, and did not actually qualify for the Small Business Administration's so-called minority set-aside program, although it said it did. That was the founding lie from which all the others followed.

Wedtech has passed, but the creation of special group interests and of set-aside programs has not; and despite last year's Supreme Court ruling against set-asides, the whole business of special political treatment for minority contractors is spreading as perniciously as ever.

The results are predictable. When politicians cave in to special-interest groups whose insistent cry can be reduced to *Give me more money*, when they award contracts through favoritism based on color, or sex, or campaign contributions, when they disregard professionalism and fiduciary responsibility for the sake of a political agenda, the value of a tax dollar is easily forgotten.

This is an election year, and as public comment focuses on the issues and on partisan or ideological wrangling, it is easy to ignore some more basic considerations. In addition to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, there are 35 governorships, 28 state treasurers' posts, 45 full state houses, and 16 full state senates being contested this year. More than eight hundred cities will elect mayors or city councils. All will be subject to the same kinds of games-playing and influence-buying as were practiced in the Wedtech scandal.

These will include not only cash payments, although there will be lots of those. The most prominent feature—untouched by the authors of both these books, by the way—will be intimidation. The entire subject of special treatment for minority- and women-owned firms, despite what happened at Wedtech, remains taboo. As Russell Baker observed in his *New York Times* column earlier this year, "racist" is "the ultimate epithet from which there is no appeal."

Until the truth is told frankly about sweetheart deals for favored groups, and until federal and municipal governments get out of the business of doling out contracts without competition, there will be more Wedtechs, great and small.

Both *Feeding the Beast* and *Too Good to Be True* are reasonably competent, but few general readers will find them compelling. The first book is journalistic in style and somewhat rushed, the second is heavy-handed in its cynicism and obvious in its conclusions. Future historians, however, will no doubt find them useful as sobering reminders of where official favoritism of any sort can lead. □

Rescuing Jarrell

JEFFREY HART

THIS elegant study is an impressive attempt at revisionism. William Pritchard, a professor at Amherst, is one of the most valuable people we have at the present time writing about poetry. His scholarship is formidable, his taste impeccable, his analyses of poetry quiet-

Randall Jarrell: A Literary Life, by William H. Pritchard (Farrar, 338 pp., $25)

ly brilliant. Not a word of jargon slips into his prose. The two books that preceded *Randall Jarrell: A Literary Life* are both important: *Lives of the Modern Poets* and *Frost: A Literary Life Reconsidered*, in the latter of which he defends Frost against the portrait of him as a monster in Lawrance Thompson's three-volume biography, regarded (until Pritchard) as definitive.

This book sets itself a sporting task: to revise upward the current view of Randall Jarrell's poetry.

That current view goes something like this: Everyone agrees that Jarrell

Tim Bower

was an extraordinary critic, an entertaining reviewer with wonderful one-line zingers; his novel, *Pictures from an Institution*, is a comic depth-charge of an academic novel. But Jarrell was not able to get his mind and feeling into his verse in the same way. And this, among other things, because his grasp of poetic technique was weak. He could not get from here, the feeling or perception, to there, the achieved poem.

Thus, in a way, Jarrell's case resem-

Mr. Hart, an NR *senior editor, is the author of* Acts of Recovery.

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bles that of Matthew Arnold. Forced to choose, anyone would take Arnold's prose and let the poetry go. Further, Arnold wrote one anthology poem, "Dover Beach." Jarrell wrote one anthology poem, "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner."

In short, among the 1940s poets, those who came in the wake of the great High Modernists, Jarrell does not belong in the class of John Berryman, Robert Lowell, or Elizabeth Bishop. (Delmore Schwartz's poetry is now forgotten.)

How does Professor Pritchard do for the defense?

He deftly brings to us the life of Jarrell. At Vanderbilt, the Tennessean/Californian Jarrell sat at the feet of John Crowe Ransom; he was a close friend of Allen Tate and (to a lesser extent) of Robert Penn Warren. His academic brilliance and egotism were intimidating, and his poetry was highly precocious. While still an undergraduate he began publishing in the prestigious quarterlies, amidst the leading poets of the day.

Pritchard recognizes the faults of this early poetry. It is derivative (Auden, Crane, Tennyson, etc.), and turgid and ungainly in technique. Nonetheless, in the years before World War II, Jarrell's young reputation rose like a rocket. His poetry reviews in *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *Partisan Review*, and elsewhere were witty shooting-galleries: Oscar Williams's poems give "the impression of having been written on a typewriter by a typewriter." His own poems were all over the place. Today, it is hard to understand why.

Pritchard argues that this uncertain and derivative poet was changed by service in the Air Force (stateside, no combat) and that the quality of his work changed too: "With hindsight we can say that what he needed for a subject was World War II: the pilots, planes, barracks, landing fields he would experience and which it was appropriate—even necessary—to write about without the rhetorical obscurity that disfigured many of his early poems." You can see what Pritchard means:

Fog over the base: the beams ranging
From the five towers pull home from the night
The crews cold in fur. . . .

Crisis on America's campus

Free inquiry is being suppressed in America's universities. The free exchange of ideas, the honest debate, the search for truth are under assault.

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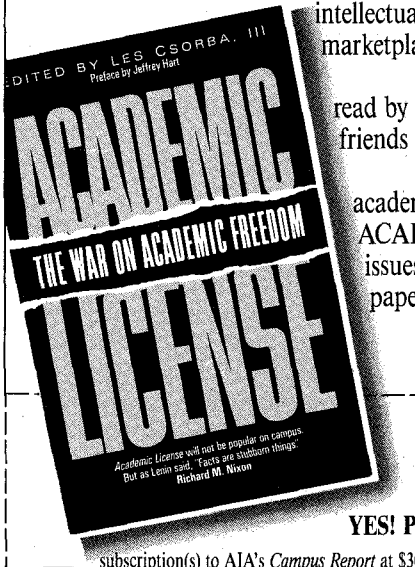
EDITED BY LES CSORBA, III
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ACADEMIC
THE WAR ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM
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Academic License will not be popular on campus. But as Lenin said, 'Facts are stubborn things.'
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Jarrell's poem "Burning the Letters" has great power. The wife of a pilot shot down over the Pacific tries to efface the painful memory by burning his letters to her. And every schoolboy knows—or at least used to know—"The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner." Here is the whole poem.

From my mother's sleep I fell into the State,
And I hunched in its belly till my wet fur froze.
Six miles from earth, loosed from its dream of life,
I woke to black flak and the nightmare fighters.
When I died they washed me out of the turret with a hose.

Every line of that short poem deserves extended comment. Though the abstract capitalized "State" of line one echoes bad Auden, and though some think the last line sensationalized, this is strong writing.

Pritchard proves that Jarrell's war poems are worth recovering, among the better writings we have about that war, along with works by James Jones and John Horne Burns. But reading Jarrell's poems again, one becomes aware of a sense of monotony due to technical sameness. The dispatches of Ernie Pyle, in the end, are better.

Pritchard makes his strongest plea to the jury with Jarrell's last volume, *The Lost World*, published in 1965, where Jarrell is at last able to achieve a distinctive voice.

In his final years Jarrell's personality showed signs of disintegration. Berryman, Lowell, Jarrell—only Elizabeth Bishop in this group seems to have been relatively sane. Everyone has assumed that Jarrell committed suicide in 1965 by throwing himself in the path of a car on a highway near Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Although the circumstances were murky, Pritchard says Jarrell probably didn't commit suicide. In the dark, he was walking in dark clothing, returning to a hospital where he was being treated for a hand injury. He was side-swiped by the car, the door-post hitting his head and killing him. It appears to have been an accident plus pathological carelessness. In the latter sense, maybe it was suicide.

In a certain way, Professor Pritchard wins his argument about Jarrell's poetry. He recovers it from forgottenness. He raises it in our esteem. Some of these poems one would not now be without. This is a signal cultural service. He does not, however—and perhaps he had no such goal—persuade us that as a poet Jarrell belongs with Lowell, Berryman, and Bishop. □

Humans Last!

BRUCE FROHNEN

IT IS difficult to take seriously a book that is dedicated to, among others, "Owl, Ferret, Spruce, River, Stone." In a perfect world a book like *Green Rage*, which argues that we must recognize the civil rights of "tree people" and "rock people"—meaning not humans, but the trees and rocks themselves—would be classified as science fiction or humor.

But in this imperfect world, a Republican Administration seems willing to sacrifice thousands of jobs so a few owls will have an easier time procreating. In this world, when two hippies from Christopher Manes's ecological terrorist group Earth First! accidentally blow up their own car, the local journalistic establishment (in this case San Francisco's *Chronicle* and *Examiner*) immediately assumes an FBI plot. In this world, an ecoterrorist group names its latest campaign "Mississippi Redwood Summer"—equating trees with blacks disfranchised in the Old South—and are praised for their "idealism." And, in this world, Mr. Manes, by arguing without humorous intent for man's return to a semi-nomadic hunter/gatherer existence, may well help do for ecological terrorism what Marx did for socialist terrorism: legitimize an irrational egalitarian program through false logic and intellectual dishonesty.

Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization, by Christopher Manes (Little, Brown, 291 pp., $18.95)

Mr. Manes's writing tools include everything from the big lie of "global warming" (the magical formula he substitutes for Marx's "contradictions of capitalism") to smaller dishonesties (like his portrayal of German anti-nuclear rioters as "peaceful demonstrators" and police as perpetrators of "institutionalized terrorism") to obfuscations like his claim that ecoterrorists are nonviolent—contradicted later in his own book when he blames the Military–Industrial Complex for his confrères' acts of violence, even murder (specifically a fatal "anti-nuclear" bombing in Spain). Rhetorical tricks are a vital element of this book, since Manes's clear intention is to convince readers of his moral rectitude before they reach his bizarre and brutal argument for the "unmaking of civilization."

The often-noted similarities between environmental extremism and the ideological mass hysterias of the past are based on rather ugly common assumptions. For ecoterrorists share with Marxists, as with Nazis, the disdain for mankind which is the font of our century's ideologically inspired enormities. Nazis acted on the assumption that all non-Aryans were subhuman and so properly subject to Aryan whims. Marxists assume that all men in the pre-Communist state are less than human; only the mythical "new socialist man" is human, so actual men are used as expendable material in his production. For ecoterrorists such as Manes, man is no more "interesting," "developed," or important than lichen or bacteria. Man's needs and his very life have no special status; at best he is equal to bacteria and at worst a "poisonous" infestation.

Earth—stones included—must come first. Thus Manes calls for "an end to all commercial logging; the restoration of large wilderness areas on what is now developed land by removing roads, dams, and other technological intrusions . . . the elimination of the automobile, coal-fired power plants, and manufacturing processes using petrochemicals . . . and, most important, the reduction of the human population to an ecologically sustainable level." What Earth requires, in short, is an end to civilization and to the vast majority of "relatively expendable" human lives.

Using radical-chic jargon (and mis-

Mr. Frohnen writes on environmental issues from Atlanta, Ga.

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readings of everyone from John Locke to Immanuel Kant that are barely worthy of contempt), Manes attacks the "civilization complex" (the "pathological" assumption that man is superior to, and so may "oppress," trees, animals, and rocks). More important to Manes's arguments are superficial discussions of the Nazi Martin Heidegger, the deranged deconstructionist Michel Foucault, the environmental pseudoscientist Paul Ehrlich, and the Marxist Herbert Marcuse. And, like those on whom he relies, Manes is quite willing to see the vast majority of mankind die in the name of his political project. Even those who survive his anti-human program will have little in the way of sanitation or medical care—such as Manes's own eyeglasses—to make their lives lengthy or healthy, let alone civilized.

Manes smugly lists ecoterrorist practices ranging from tree spikings to riots to bazooka attacks on nuclear-power plants. Such irrational terrorists (convinced that the "grizzly bear doesn't think wilderness is elitist") probably will not gain democratic power directly. One hopes men will refuse to vote for the elimination of civilized arts and manners. One can be certain that men will refuse to vote for the elimination of cars and television.

But by Manes's own account, ecoterrorism already has caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage—as well as numerous maimings, murders and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. And, just as important, ecoterrorism has made environmental groups as radical and irrational as Friends of the Earth and even Greenpeace appear "moderate."

"Moderate" environmental groups do not seek to "unmake" civilization; they seek to bankrupt it. The sacrifice of human well-being for the spotted owl and the snail darter, months- and years-long environmental-impact studies and other anti-industrial "reforms" all began as "moderate" environmental proposals. And once enough dams and nuclear-power plants have been blown up and enough $22-billion-per-year "Clean Air Acts" have been put into effect, civilization *will* be bankrupt. Then the mass starvation, forced homelessness, and general re-barbarization so longed for by ecoterrorists can begin.

With the demise of Communism as an ideological force, environmental extremists pose the single greatest threat to civilized life. In the name of the "obvious" good of unobtainably clean air and water these animistic barbarians will continue to be a serious (if ludicrous) threat—at least until intimidating lies like "global warming" are generally recognized for what they are.

Manes is working on a PhD in English at the University of Oregon and a law degree at Berkeley. His commitment to environmental issues spans an entire twentieth of a century. His book, for which so many of our tree friends gave their all, is uncommonly shallow, adolescent, and dishonest. He is thus assured of a bright future in the American academy. □

THEATER

Eastern Standard

EVA RESNIKOVA

ACTORS' Equity—perhaps the only union whose unemployment rate regularly hovers somewhere above 90 per cent—announced on August 7 that "it cannot appear to condone the casting of a Caucasian actor in the role of a Eurasian" and therefore it was denying the British actor Jonathan Pryce permission to appear on Broadway in the role he originated in London in *Miss Saigon*, the hit pop opera by the authors of *Les Misérables* that transposes *Madama Butterfly* to 1975 Saigon. The show's producer, the phenomenally successful Cameron Mackintosh (*Cats*, *Les Miz*, *Phantom of the Opera*), had threatened to cancel the production, despite a record-breaking advance, should Mr. Pryce be prevented from reprising his role in New York, and promptly did so.

The cost to the industry was 182

Miss Resnikova writes about theater and dance for the New York Observer.

ADVICE AND DISSENT

They're contentious and contagious. They're the McLaughlin Group. (clockwise from left) Jack Germond, Eleanor Clift, John McLaughlin, Fred Barnes, Morton Kondracke, and Pat Buchanan.
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jobs, including acting roles for 34 so-called ethnic minorities. Petitions calling on the union to reconsider its decision were posted backstage the following day at several Broadway shows, and enough signatures garnered from the ranks of the momentarily employed to force Equity to reconsider. A meeting of the union's council was set for August 16. After six hours of discussion, Executive Secretary Alan Eisenberg emerged to announce that the union had reversed its decision, that it had earlier "applied an honest and moral principle in an inappropriate manner," and that "Actors' Equity welcomes Mr. Pryce and wishes Cameron Mackintosh's production of *Miss Saigon* a long and prosperous run."

In the interim between the initial denial and the not-unexpected *volte-face*, much ink was spilled and much breath expended, including that of New York's increasingly ineffectual mayor, David Dinkins, who announced that he was "reaching out" to Actors' Equity to see if he could be of help. The main result of Equity's denial was further racial polarization, with the firmest support coming from the duo whose complaint initiated the whole brouhaha, the playwright David Henry Hwang and the actor B. D. Wong, who were joined by Tisa Chang, the artistic director of the Pan Asian Repertory Theater; Chuck Patterson, the chairman of the Committee on Racial Equality of Actors' Equity, who is

RIGHT BOOKS

■ The title of Shelby Steele's new book, *The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America* (St. Martin's, 192 pp., $15.95), comes from Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech; the content of character, not the color of skin, is the hoped-for standard of *discrimination*. Professor Steele, who teaches English at San José State, believes that "the long struggle of blacks in America has always been a struggle to retrieve our full humanity. But now the relative stance we adopted to defend ourselves against oppression binds us to the same racial views that oppressed us in the first place."

Full humanity can only be experienced in the present, yet the defensive ethos of *blackness* is rooted in the past. According to Mr. Steele, historical racism is no longer black America's main problem. Today the problem is the failure to embrace individuality. Mr. Steele speaks of a black "party line" that effectively demands that blacks be dealt with primarily as victims; a process that in its personal dimension he calls "race-holding." To "hold" race is to place it at the center of identity, as both sword and shield. "I define *holding*," he writes, "as any self-description that serves to justify or camouflage a person's fears, weaknesses, and inadequacies." He believes that black Americans are using color as a weapon and a buffer more today than in the past precisely because traditional barriers have fallen. Black pride, separatism, and Afrophilia are reactions against the risks of opportunity.

Which is why the gap between white and black achievement—many and notable exceptions acknowledged—seems to be widening, not diminishing; why, for instance, Asian immigrants succeed in black neighborhoods where blacks themselves frequently stagnate. It is because Asians, like Jews before them, whatever horrors they may have escaped in coming to America, do not come from a "culture of oppression."

> Oppression conditions people *away* from all the values and attitudes one needs in freedom—individual initiative, self-interested hard work, individual responsibility, delayed gratification, and so on. In oppression these things don't pay off and are therefore negatively reinforced. It is not that these values have never had a presence in black life, only that they were muted and destabilized by the negative conditioning of oppression.

Affirmative action, formerly a legal weapon against discrimination and now a justification for it, is damaging to blacks, because its goal, *diversity*, "applies democratic principles to races and cultures rather than to citizens, despite the fact that there is nothing to indicate that real diversity is the same thing as proportionate representation." In an eloquent book's most stunning sentences, the author concludes:

> Suffering can be endured and overcome, it cannot be repaid. Blacks cannot be repaid for injustice done to the race, but we can be corrupted by society's guilty gestures of repayment.

This is a very personal book. (It's also repetitious; five of nine chapters were first magazine articles, and the parts have not been carefully welded together.) Professor Steele almost always uses his own experience as evidence supporting the principles he describes. At no time does he cite other sources. Perhaps he couldn't quote a supporting view that would not itself be equally anecdotal; the politicization of the academy has meant that scholarly inquiry into racial dilemmas is all but forbidden. Still, Mr. Steele's frequent coinages of psycho-social categories (race-holding, integration shock, seeing for innocence, compensatory grandiosity, etc.) suggest the sensibility of a Victorian clergyman. So personal an undertaking occasionally fails.

Mr. Steele overstates the nature and extent of white guilt. This may be because he is a college professor. He thinks white guilt springs from "a *knowledge* of ill-gotten advantage," from "the inevitable gratitude one feels for being white rather than black," but surely that's an invalid abstraction. Contemporary white Americans, Klan members excepted, do not define themselves according to skin color, and have in no way benefited from the oppression of blacks. (To be fair to Professor Steele, although he may overstate white guilt, he superbly states the preferred white attitude: "The white message to blacks must be: America hurt you badly and that is wrong, but entitlements only prolong the hurt while development overcomes it.")

One word is missing from Professor Steele's analysis of black self-description: brother. Among blacks there is no more powerful determiner of identity and activity than the idea, the feeling, the experience of kinship. It is, of course, the legacy of oppression, not the mere fact of having black skin. (There is no similar kinship among the various black tribes of Africa; the Africa of many black-American dreams is a mythic land.) It is this emotional bond that Professor Steele calls upon black Americans to abandon, although that is this reviewer's inference. How else will blacks be empowered to embrace the opportunities awaiting them, except by finding kinship outside the narrow test of color? As he himself writes: "The promised land guarantees nothing. It is only an opportunity, not a deliverance."

—Brad Miner

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black; and Colleen Dewhurst, the president of Actors' Equity, who is white, although she did once, in the pre-enlightenment early Seventies, play the title role in Brecht's *Good Woman of Szechuan*. (The ever artistically sensitive Miss Dewhurst reportedly told Mr. Mackintosh that it didn't matter who played the role, since the show had already generated a $25-million advance.)

Mostly, though, the Equity decision was roundly condemned, within and without the theater community. The irony of a small special-interest group attempting to dictate artistic terms in the wake of protests against proposed restrictions on the National Endowment for the Arts was not lost, especially as Miss Dewhurst's gravelly voice had been a leading one among the protestors. Even Joseph Papp, the head of the New York Shakespeare Festival and a longtime supporter of so-called nontraditional casting, had some trouble with the decision, noting that "as a producer" he had "a certain resistance" to being told how to cast his plays, but that "as a citizen" he thought Equity did "the proper and heroic thing"—as if the two states of being were somehow unconnected. Joanna Merlin, of the Nontraditional Casting Project, an organization whose name speaks for itself, stated firmly that the decision "seriously threatens freedom of artistic choice" and that no one could legitimately dictate who should or should not be cast in a show other than the show's creative team.

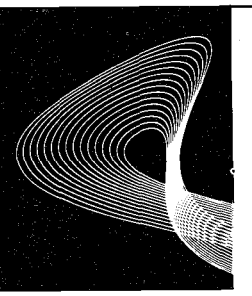
Equity's decision to bar Mr. Pryce, and its subsequent reversal, made the front page of the *New York Times* because theater is important to New York, spiritually and economically, and especially to the *Times*, in whose backyard the Broadway theater resides and in whose essential pages the industry spends a great deal of its advertising dollars.

Most of all, though, the story is emblematic of the messy issue of race relations in an increasingly divided New York, which is beginning to resemble less the "glorious mosaic" of Mayor Dinkins's imagining than a smashed windshield of safety glass whose millions of fragments adhere precariously, ready to crumble at the first fighting words.

The mealy-mouthed way in which Equity couched its initial decision is characteristic of the bad faith in which it handled the whole issue: not that it could not condone the casting of a Caucasian as a Eurasian, but that it could not *appear* to condone it. Mr. Eisenberg, a lawyer, described the decision as a "moral" one, presumably to distinguish it from a legal one; in fact, American Equity's agreement with its British counterpart covers only the certification of star status of the actor in question, and Mr. Pryce had already been granted the necessary H-1 visa in 1984. Mr. Eisenberg invited Mr. Mackintosh to submit to arbitration, hinting broadly that the decision would be overturned on appeal, and adding that should Mr. Mackintosh decide not to avail himself of this remedy, the loss of jobs and revenues would be "ultimately his responsibility"—thus simultaneously taking the moral high road and abnegating responsibility.

Lost somewhere within all the moral posturing, until Mr. Pryce mentioned it in an interview, was the fact that his role—that of an Everyman pimp and fixer known only as the Engineer—is a half-Vietnamese, half-French Eurasian, and that in casting and playing him, one has to come down on one side or the other. (Unless, of course, one scrupulously follows the logic of the protestors and casts the role with a genuine Eurasian.) Mr. Pryce was also the only one unafraid to say on the record something that no doubt many others in the theater community had been thinking, namely, that Mr. Wong's protest was perhaps "fed by his own self-interest." The winner of a Tony Award for his portrayal of a transvestite prostitute in Mr. Hwang's *M. Butterfly* in 1988, Mr. Wong no doubt saw himself as the leading American contender for the part.

While it is undeniable that female prostitutes and their procurers do have a certain essential connection, having travestied the former does not necessarily give one an edge on impersonating the latter. In his letter to Miss Dewhurst, Mr. Wong had written of the "unique dignity" that Asian actors bring to "specifically Asian roles." Disregarding for the moment the blatant racism of his statement (try substituting "Caucasian" for "Asian"), the fact is that the portrayal of a sleazy pimp does not generally call for dignity, uniquely Asian or otherwise. Mr.



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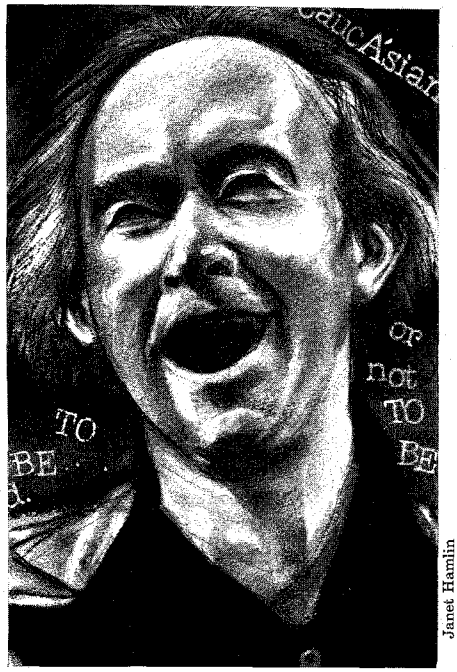

Janet Hamlin

Wong is also twenty years too young for the role, as well as physically slight and delicate enough to have been able to convince us he was a woman.

The only point on which Equity has some ground to stand was the no doubt calculated ambiguity on the part of the casting director, who supposedly pursued a nationwide search for an Asian actor qualified to play the role. In fact, the search had centered on finding actors to fill the 34 other non-Caucasian roles, including the female lead, and no actor other than Mr. Pryce had ever been seriously considered for the Engineer. Mr. Mackintosh acknowledged the "misunderstanding" and confirmed that it had never been his intent to replace Mr. Pryce, although the search did include "possible understudies and replacements" for the Engineer.

What is unfortunate is that the casting director felt he had to resort to this subterfuge in order to cast his show according to the producer's artistic standards, rather than submit to the dictates of affirmative action. Any doubts that this is what the whole debate was about were dispelled at a press conference following the cancellation, at which Mr. Patterson confirmed that "this is a moral issue to correct decades of injustice to actors of all color [*sic*]."

So it seems that *Miss Saigon* will be coming to Broadway after all, that Mr. Pryce will be reprising the role he created in London, and that to the records broken by the show—most expensive to produce, largest advance—must be added another: greatest amount of free publicity. □

FILM

No Thrills, Some Frills

JOHN SIMON

I CORDIALLY detested Andrew Bergman's previous movies, such as *The In-Laws*, and his Broadway outing, *Social Security*, which defied even Mike Nichols's dexterity in the manufacture of silk purses. But when Marlon Brando makes one of his rare film appearances, even while bad-mouthing his very vehicle to the media, we critics snap to—even those of us who do not subscribe to the doctrine of his infallibility. In ***The Freshman***, Bergman's latest, Brando's performance can again be debated. But not his judgment: the film is trash.

No need to bother you with the paltry excuse for a plot, but let's say that after the film sedulously constructs what looks like a chain of outrageous coincidences that is meant to seem, nevertheless, believable (not to me, friends!), it then completely reverses itself and pretends in the end that every specious link of that unendurably stretched chain was in fact cannily, cogently planned. Well, out of a sow's ear, perhaps; but out of a hog's wash?

Neither by chance nor by forethought could more than a fraction of these events have fallen into place; the film is like an attempt to solve an equation comprising nothing but unknowns. There are only two ways to make such a picture work: the absurdist (or surreal) approach or just plain devilish wit. Bergman's film has neither: it strives for a surface realism to set the tone and nudges itself forward by means of feeble, forced jokes. For a joke to be truly propulsive, however, it must have some significance or implication, some social, philosophical, or satirical content.

When Bergman is poking fun at the NYU film school (which, God knows, can do with some poking), he shows on the wall of a classroom life-size photo portraits of Truffaut, Spielberg, De Palma and Scorsese. But why not, and, therefore, so what? When, however, Mel Brooks, in *High Anxiety*, shows a psychoanalysts' convention with the wall behind the speaker displaying enormous photomurals of Freud, Jung, Adler, and Dr. Joyce Brothers, that gag makes a point.

Again, much is made of Brando's playing Carmine Sabatini, a very, very Godfather-like figure, and of how Matthew Broderick, playing the naïve title character, keeps gulping and blithering about how Carmine is . . . looks like . . . doesn't he . . . isn't he? which Brando and the others acknowledge with a variety of literal or figurative shrugs. The audience is convulsed, but it does not take much to convulse an audience these days. What makes the joke less funny than it might be is that it is milked; one grand shrug from Brando—and it is grand—would have been funnier.

Further, Arthur Fleeber, the ghastly film-school prof who forces his students to buy his book as a text, would be funnier if he weren't played by that incurable ham Paul Benedict, and if his way of teaching film—playing movies with the sound off and mouthing each character's lines himself—were not shown some three or four times. And what's the use of casting Maximilian Schell wildly against type if you can't also give him some amusing lines and business? And though it is a nice idea to have the plot revolve around a Komodo dragon, an Indonesian lizard of giant size and (according to the screenplay) intimidating behavior, the role is played by a water monitor, a saurian of more modest scale and whose comportment is worthy of a pussycat.

There are two funny things in the film. One is Bert Parks's appearance to serenade the lizard at an unholy gathering for jaded millionaires, and his spoof of himself and implied jab at the Miss America Pageant. The other is the scene in which Brando comes to visit Broderick in his NYU digs and, taking in the dorm through dormant

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*

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eyes, mutters, "So this is college? I didn't miss nuttin'." Brando may well be a more endangered species than the Komodo dragon, and is certainly of more impressive size. He does play his part rather like a lizard sunning himself on a rock. But for his occasional blinking and emitting sounds that the trained ear will recognize as English, his craft seems to be less the actor's than the taxidermist's. Still, he has an undeniable mystique, and his waltz on ice skates is something not even one of those enchanting bears from the Moscow Circus would be likely to disavow.

Matthew Broderick preserves his perennial adolescence with grace and makes a delightful Candide from Vermont, nettled by New York but coping. Even though the amount of innocence with which he is saddled could make a Shetland pony buckle, he remains fresh and frisky. And he is ably supported by Bruno Kirby and Penelope Ann Miller. Yet, all in all, *The Freshman* falls—perhaps appropriately—a bit short of the sophomoric.

■ Confession: I don't recall ever guessing who did it in a good whodunit; my mind simply doesn't work that way. But in the case of ***Presumed Innocent***, I guessed in no time who the culprit was, without having read, or read anything about, Scott Turow's best-selling novel, said to be appreciably superior to the movie version. Still, guessing who the killer is wouldn't be fatal, if only there were enough compensatory virtues.

The story concerns an assistant district attorney, Rusty Sabich (Harrison Ford), who, though married, had an affair with a sexy colleague, Caroline Polhemus (Greta Scacchi), who is found tied up and murdered, evidently by a sadist. Sabich's boss, Horgan, the chief public prosecutor (Brian Dennehy), embroiled in a political contest, turns the case over to the extremely reluctant Sabich. His reluctance only increases as the accumulating evidence he rustles up points to himself as the murderer. The bulk of the movie deals with his apprehension and trial. Horgan, himself a more recent lover of Caroline's, testifies against him; Rusty's only friends seem to be his wronged but loyal wife, Barbra, and true-blue Detective Lipranzer, a teammate on many a criminal case.

The film maintains a modicum of interest, even though having to show things that fiction need not spell out puts it at a disadvantage. And though the director, Alan J. Pakula, has two hits to his credit, *All the President's Men* and *Klute*, both his plots and his casts there had greater distinction. In *Presumed Innocent*, he has a cumbersome screenplay by himself and Frank Pierson (for whom I, personally, will always retain a remnant of compassion for his having tried to direct Barbra Streisand in *A Star Is Born*), and no great performance at the core.

Harrison Ford, who looks more and more like an Edsel, is not an actor capable of carrying a non–Indiana Jones film on his manly but inflexible shoulders. As Sabich, he depends on two things: a harried expression of all-purpose anxiety that does not change much even in moments of supposedly headlong passion with Greta Scacchi, and a dishonest hairstyle blending ele-

NOW SHOWING

Gremlins 2: The New Batch is undeniably fun—a lot of harmless, and not a few harmful, things are amiably spoofed—but the film is too timid to be significant satire.

Mo' Better Blues has a few—very few—good scenes, but also ugly whiffs of anti-Semitism, formulaic story-telling, maniacal parallelism, and heavy-handed symmetry. Mo' worse.

Pretty Woman is a double Pygmalion story that has to be seen to be disbelieved. Two golden-hearted whores find each other, fall in love, and make honest, married lovers of each other. A first, I am sorry to say.

Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down! is an old, established *topos*: Beauty and the Beast, or how the evil ravisher's genuine passion wins over his pure victim. Most reviewers have been hard on the movie. Yet filmmaker Pedro Almodovar was trying, in his way, to be more wholesomely affirmative than usual, and was punished for it. —JOHN SIMON

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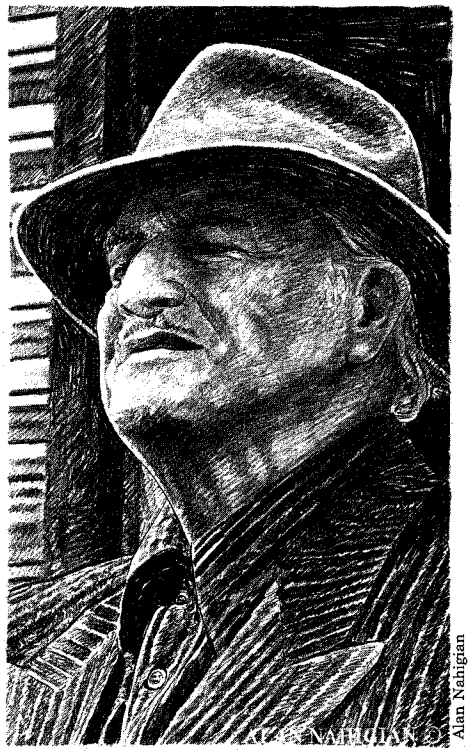
ments of an overgrown crew cut with hints of a widow's peak, disingenuous boyishness with unseemly coquetry. There are memories of Anthony Perkins in *Psycho* haloing this haircut, as well as whiffs of Charlton Heston aspiring to ethnicity in *Touch of Evil*. Finally, it is a performance that, keeping one eye on Parnassus and the other on Mount Rushmore, goes cross-eyed on us.

There is interesting work from some supporting players. Not, however, from the talented Bonnie Bedelia, as the wife, who is given too little to work with until the end, and then, suddenly and clumsily, too much. And not from Brian Dennehy, whose wonderfully menacing suavity gets only a passing chance here. Nor yet from the gifted Joe Grifasi, who looks a bit too bedraggled for a public prosecutor. But John Spencer gives one of those solid, old-fashioned, Warner Brothersy performances as the warm-hearted detective, Sab Shimono is arresting as a smooth coroner whose arrogance unravels, Raul Julia is most entertaining as an Argentine Jewish defense attorney whose slightly oleaginous theatrics enhance his hard-hitting intelligence.



Alan Nahigian

And there is a beguiling judge, played by Paul Winfield nervily, in all the contradictory senses of the word.

But the two great debits of the film are Greta Scacchi, that irresistible siren of British movies, here reduced to yet another faceless Hollywood blonde, and the cinematography of Gordon Willis, which used to look breathtaking but now, overtaken by newer camera wizards, appears merely out of breath.

■ Don't expect many words about ***The Two Jakes***, a sequel to *Chinatown*, which Jack Nicholson both stars in and directed. There is little to be said about a film that is not only incomprehensible from almost the first, but also glories in its deviousness and inscrutability. I loved *Chinatown*, though it likewise had serious gaps in its logic, but also a wonderfully seedy glamour down to its chipped-lacquer toenails. The sequel's first mistake, however, is to assume intense familiarity with *Chinatown* on the audience's part, which, even with prodding from inserts from the earlier film, is a bit too much to expect.

The main problem here isn't that oil derricks and tract housing in 1938 California aren't as poetic and involving as orange groves and life-sustaining underground water a decade earlier; or that some key performers such as Meg Tilly, Richard Farnsworth, and even Madeleine Stowe lack charisma; or that a certain reverential glossiness displayed here suggests that the filmmakers considered their material roughly equivalent to a film version of the Bible. It is not even that Jack Nicholson's new chubbiness, indeed tubbiness, does not belong among the accoutrements of Jake Gittes, master detective specializing in divorce cases. But it is, I repeat, a plot as twisted as a psychotic pretzel. There is, I'm afraid, nothing like opacity to make action look indistinguishable from stasis.

There are other culprits—and Nicholson, though not without an eye, is not yet the directorial equal of the Polanski of *Chinatown*—but the chief sabotage comes from Robert Towne's screenplay, which seems high either on drugs or on megalomania. A belated salvage effort consisting of an added-on narration—a Raymond Chandlerish interior monologue for Gittes—clarifies nothing except our awareness of total confusion. *The Two Jakes*, so named because of Gittes and another Jake, well played by Harvey Keitel, is a bit supererogatory. One jakes would have been enough to flush the whole thing down. □

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[JERRY] HOUGH:

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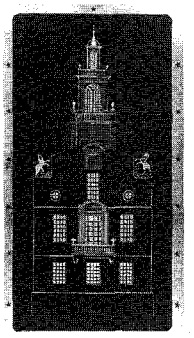

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(Continues on page 58)

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MALLET

(Continued from page 24)

taking too many prisoners," says the resistance leader I meet.

Thursday—The Iraqis force shopkeepers to accept Iraqi dinars as equivalent to Kuwaiti dinars, although before the invasion one Kuwaiti dinar was worth ten Iraqi dinars. The Iraqis are buying everything from cans of Pepsi to teacups to take home to Iraq. Soldiers are seen handing out melons and bottles of cooking gas to hundreds of poorer residents.

The Iraqi army is beginning to dig in to defensive positions. Soldiers are filling sandbags or sitting under beach umbrellas or makeshift shelters in the heat of the day at their seaside bivouacs. Most of Kuwait's Egyptian population has come down firmly on the side of the West and the former Kuwaiti regime, but Palestinians are divided. Many of them resented the arrogance of Kuwaitis and their refusal to grant citizenship to Palestinians who had lived in the country all their lives. Palestinians also see Saddam as a strong leader who stands up for them against Israel and the world.

In the Mishrif area three hundred middle-class women stage a further demonstration against the occupation. A car bomb is said to have exploded during the day, apparently driven by a man on a suicide mission; a female relative of his had been killed by Iraqi gunfire during a previous protest.

Friday—Iraq has ordered embassies to move to Baghdad, further raising fears among foreigners about their protection. Travelers see large missiles—possibly Scud-Bs or upgraded Scuds—on the road to the south. Some residents have also seen face masks and mobile equipment that appears to be for decontamination after a chemical attack.

Foreigners are increasingly afraid of the possibility of chemical war, although the immediate horizon is clouded by the possibility that they may be used as hostages by Saddam. The Iraqis tried to publish a newspaper at the old premises of *Al-Qabas*, but I have not seen a copy. They are also trying to reopen the banks and to get the administration working again, but it seems that only a few expatriates hoping for their end-of-services bonuses have shown up for work.

Conditions among the poorer communities of foreigners worsen. Hundreds of Filipinos with little money to buy food are living in unsanitary conditions at the Filipino embassy.

Saturday—Women demonstrate again outside the Rumasiya Mosque. Four resistance fighters are said to have been killed in an attack upon Iraqi positions. Iraqi soldiers are becoming nervous and no longer sit relaxed by the roadside or in their vehicles.

Sunday—A Briton is reported to have been shot while trying to escape over the Saudi border. There are increasing reports of desertions and mutiny among the Iraqi troops, although at least some of the reports are likely to be wishful thinking.

Most Iraqi tanks and heavy equipment have now left the city center. A diplomat sees a group of Iraqi civilians being bused in for a pro-Iraqi demonstration which will later be shown on Iraqi television. The city is looking increasingly shabby, even if the damage from the fighting is not extensive. Damaged vehicles and garbage litter the once immaculate streets.

Monday—I escape with friends, but many foreigners remain against their will. □

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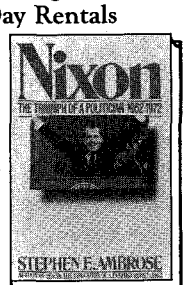

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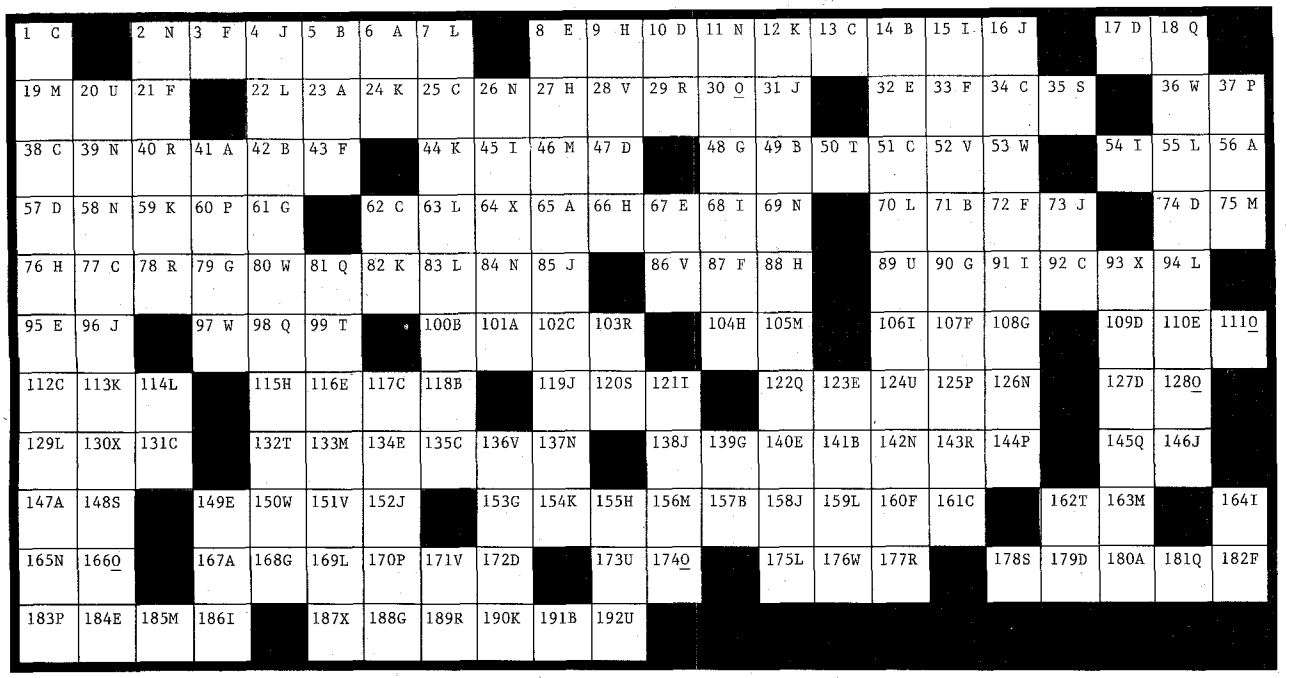
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. What some counselors chase — 101 180 147 56 41 23 167 65 6

B. Mirroring one's thoughts — 157 141 100 118 191 49 14 71 5 42

C. Our third President's favorite city — 13 25 1 62 117 51 135 92 131 34 / 38 77 112 102 161

D. Rubbed elbows — 47 127 74 10 179 109 17 172 57

E. Aristotelian — 140 110 149 67 32 116 134 123 95 184 / 8

F. Like a member of a low Hindu caste — 182 87 72 33 3 160 107 21 43

G. Digestive problem — 79 188 61 139 108 90 48 153 168

H. Petula Clark's paean to the city — 88 104 115 155 66 9 76 27

I. How one dies without a will — 45 68 186 121 54 106 91 164 15

J. Home of Bismarck (2 words) — 31 146 4 119 73 16 158 152 96 85 / 138

K. Dying arms profession — 154 12 59 24 82 113 190 44

L. Good numbers from the optometrist (2 words) — 175 70 83 114 129 7 55 22 63 159 / 169 94

M. In the wings — 156 105 163 185 19 133 46 75

N. Having a problem with the vision thing — 84 58 142 137 2 26 69 165 126 39 / 11

O. Can you refuse it? — 30 174 128 166 111

P. Turmoil — 170 183 125 37 144 60

Q. Goes with blues — 81 122 18 145 98 181

R. Of the heavens — 189 29 177 103 78 40 143

S. Our 21st President, to his friends — 178 120 148 35

T. Baserunner's goal — 50 162 132 99

U. Fred Astaire's birthplace — 173 192 124 20 89

V. A wild ass — 52 151 86 28 136 171

W. Agitated state, or barber's tool — 53 150 97 176 80 36

X. Ayatollah's opposite — 187 130 64 93

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 57 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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How to Understand King Hussein

NEW YORK, AUGUST 17

If there is something about King Hussein that is lovable, his wives are presumably aware of it, and perhaps his intimates. The sniffy world, in America and Europe, thinks of him (have you ever seen it not mentioned?) as a runt, and an opportunist, lacking in the qualities of the statesman, hypocritical in respect of the Palestinian problem, constantly beguiled as, most recently, by Saddam Hussein.

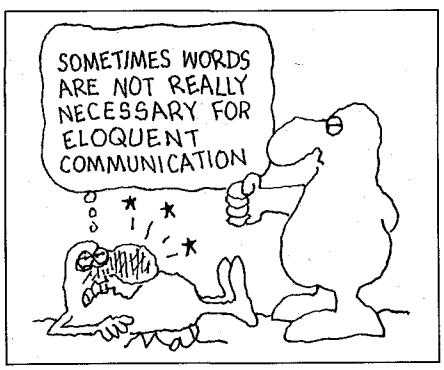
It helps in such matters to weigh the other guy's situation. This requires us, in the case of Hussein, to bear in mind two things primarily. The first is that Jordan's western frontier is Israel's eastern frontier, and that Jordan's eastern frontier is Iraq's western frontier. That makes for cozy living, does it not? And then the northern frontier is shared with benign old Syria, and the southern frontier, with Saudi Arabia.

Jordan is about the size of Indiana, 31 per cent of its population is literate, and over 80 per cent of its land is arid. During the 1967 war with Israel, Jordan lost only 6 per cent of its territory—but one-half of its agricultural land. The population of three million has a per-capita income of about $600 per year, or about 5 per cent of U.S. per-capita income; and—Jordan has no oil. Now whether you are a tiny little king, measured in inches and pounds, or a great big king, if you are king of that—mess—you are in trouble.

Now there are two things the Jordanian people feel very strongly about. The first is a hatred of Israel, which oughtn't to be surprising in anyone who has experienced the loss of two wars to a country, followed by that country's expropriation of one-half of his agricultural territory. The second thing the Jordanians care about is economic survival. Forty per cent of their exports last year were to—Iraq.

When, in 1977, Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat went to Israel to make peace, King Hussein was among the first to demand the expulsion of Egypt from the Arab League. Jordanians think of the United States as utterly single-minded on the matter of Israel, and by and large they are correct in this: we give Israel about $3 billion per year, and our foreign policy sometimes looks, to Jordanians, like the U.S. desk of Israeli foreign policy. That is a reason why the rodomontade of such as Saddam Hussein delights so many of the street-folk of Arabia. The idea of standing up and calling an American President a liar and a warmonger: that kind of thing is music to many Arab ears. Granted in this case there is schizophrenia among the Saudis, and certainly among the Kuwaitis, because it is their countries that are, respectively, threatened and annexed. But Jordan has no oil, hasn't been annexed, doesn't like at all being roped into an alliance with the allies of Israel, and bitterly resents the prospective loss of 40 per cent of its customers and prospective unemployment of 30 per cent.

Now, all of this does not alter what Mr. Bush says to King Hussein. We don't have the details of what was said, but we can easily guess. "Your Majesty, I know you don't like what we're up to, and we didn't like it when you asked the Arab League to gang up against Egypt, back when Egypt was trying to move toward a peaceful solution to the Israel problem. But we have no alternative other than to move against you, in the same way that you moved against Egypt. As for the damage to your economy, sure we'll help, and King Fahd has assured me that the Saudis will also help. And—I'm sure—when it's all over, you will have a healthy contribution from the Kuwaitis. But in the meantime, old shoe, you have got to expect that anything landing in the port of Aqaba headed for Iraq is going to spend a long time waiting to unload, like maybe three months, six months, a year, depending on how long Saddam Hussein hangs in there."



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King Hussein understands that kind of talk. Just as he is under pressure to protest, and maybe even to appeal to the UN. We mustn't get mad at him for doing this. We are not inexperienced in the amorality of diplomatic priorities: we made allies of Stalin's Russia back when Hussein was only six years old and full-grown. The Israel lobby in the United States is much, much smaller than the anti-Israel lobby in Jordan. So the lesson is: Don't get mad at Hussein, he's just a king doing a king's business. □

Saturday Night Protocol

NEW YORK, AUGUST 20

An informal dinner party. Two men, A and B, have served in presidential Cabinets. They engaged an inquisitive guest, G, on the subject of war & protocol.

A: I think President Bush has handled the situation superbly. But it defeats the imagination why he insists on playing golf through it all.

G: Surely his point is understandable? He's giving a signal to the Arabs and, in a sense, to the world—

B: What signal?

G: He's trying to say, or at least that's how I see it, Look: We have a mad Arab causing a situation that threatens vital interests. It is a sign of the great resources of the United States that we can cope with this crazy fellow without convulsing the metabolic order of U.S. government: Congresses take vacations in August, and Presidents play golf.

A: The man in the street doesn't think it's right for a President to play golf while his son is sitting in 110° heat with a machine gun at his side sniffing the air for any trace of poisoned gas.

G: But surely what television has done is to broadcast what people truly know goes on. Harold Macmillan reread all of George Eliot during the Suez Crisis—

A: Wait a minute. That's the kind of thing one learns about a statesman after the crisis is over. It is certainly not the kind of thing that would have been advertised over BBC during that crisis . . . "Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan ordered the fleet this afternoon to proceed

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from Cyprus to Alexandria and then resumed his reading of *The Mill on the Floss*."

G: You are saying one of two things. 1) The general public doesn't want to see the President playing golf, but cosmopolitan folk don't really care. Or else 2) the President shouldn't be playing golf during a crisis of this character.

B: The latter. I went through several of these, and we were there in the Situation Room maybe two, three times per day, and the President was at the center of all activity.

G: But isn't it universally accepted that modern communications place the President at the center of activity, no matter where he is?

B: No. He is at the center of activity only in the sense that at any time, from any location, he can authorize a nuclear response. But you can't be on the 11th hole and give a sophisticated reply to sophisticated analysis of a problem that's just arisen.

G: But if it's the kind of problem that requires sophisticated attention, surely it's a problem that gives the President time to get on his airplane and march into his Situation Room to do the appropriate agonizing?

A: The whole impression is wrong. The kind of gravity inherent in what we are doing in the Gulf is inconsistent with normal summer priorities—

B: And then there is the question of his representatives. Did you see Cheney getting off the airplane?

G: No.

B: Well, here is our Secretary of Defense, being met at the airport in Saudi Arabia by a royal prince. And he comes off the plane dressed in Levis, with his hand in his pocket! Whenever I landed in a foreign country, didn't matter who was meeting me, I pulled out a suit and went down the companionway with hands other than in my pocket.

G: You're not suggesting, or are you, that this is something that offends the American people?

B: I'm not sure it is even noticed by the American people, but it is very much noticed by people governed very strictly by protocol.

G: I see your point. I remember going into Lenin's Tomb with my hand absentmindedly in my pocket. A Soviet guard yanked my hand out.

A: It makes a difference if a President is thought to be something of an incurable eccentric, but George Bush keeps stressing that he is a regular fellow.

G: When FDR and Eleanor served hot dogs to the king and queen of England, I remember, it caused something of an appreciative flurry, but I think it was delight over U.S. informality, wasn't it?

A: That's different. It meant to the American people that the President and the First Lady were not in the least embarrassed about an American addiction to hot dogs, and were even prepared to serve them to visiting royalty. A sign of self-confidence, very much appreciated.

G: But isn't playing golf during a crisis a sign of self-confidence?

A: Actually, since it isn't really natural to let the television cameras film you playing golf and even taking questions about the crisis while playing, it can give exactly the opposite impression: that you are acting out a scene that is inherently unnatural. And this could give out the idea that you are, well, laughing on the outside, but crying on the inside. □

Frank Lorenzo & The Free Market

NEW YORK, AUGUST 10

I wish there were an insurance policy one could take out in defense of capitalism. I could imagine that the premiums would have been oversubscribed to an Adam Smith Fund to Retire Frank Lorenzo. Or to a Ludwig von Mises Fund to Protect the Market from Frank Lorenzo. A few years ago, Irving Kristol wrote a book called *Two Cheers for Capitalism*, in which he hailed the accomplishments of the marketplace but remarked with sorrow (and indignation) the bad name some capitalists give it.

Frank Lorenzo, if you missed it, will be paid $30.5 million by the Scandinavian Airline System in exchange for his stock in Continental, which also owns what is left of Eastern Air Lines. The marketplace made its last, lapidary judgment on the value of Mr. Lorenzo: Jan Carlzon, CEO of SAS, said that the resignation of Lorenzo from Continental was crucial to the deal. "Without that in the picture, we wouldn't have done it," he said. He wasn't asked whether SAS would have paid still more if Lorenzo had promised to take a job as CEO of one of the competitive airlines.

As it stands, Mr. Lorenzo is fetching between $14 and $18 per share of stock, which is about double what the stock is selling for. When this was pointed out to him, he remarked airily that Continental stockholders should have sold out a year or so ago. The moral would appear to be that a shareholder of a company run by Lorenzo should get rid of his stock as soon as possible.

When he took over Continental, what he did was vacate company personnel contracts by the device of letting Continental go bankrupt—and then restoring it, contract free. That device is not in and of itself dishonorable, and the objective was to save the company and to put it back on a solid footing. Eastern Air Lines, which Lorenzo purchased and attempted to rehabilitate, answered him by going on strike in the spring of 1989, a strike led by the machinists (who were then led by the labor-union version of a Frank Lorenzo, Mr. William Winpisinger, a socialist more concerned with the class struggle than with the fate of his union members). To the surprise of management, the pilots joined in the strike, and for many weeks Eastern was moribund. Gradually the pilots came back, but the draconian work rules and exiguous salaries for ground personnel and administrative staffs broke the fighting spirit of the company.

Frank Lorenzo was not named by the Justice Department as one of the nine defendants in a lawsuit alleging that necessary maintenance on Eastern planes was signed off on but not performed. But assuming the complaint is not frivolous, under Frank Lorenzo one of the proudest airlines in U.S. history was prepared not only to humiliate and impoverish its workers, but to run the risk of killing its dwindling patrons.

Conduct such as his ought to be at least a cultural concern of defenders of the marketplace. There is no way a law could be written, to the effect that chief executives ought not to profiteer from the distress of companies they manage. But some general manifestation of disdain for the abusers of capitalism is appropriate. The Helmsley Laws, we might agree to call them, as we ponder the rhetoric that will be spent on the Lorenzo case the next time the Democratic-convention orators meet to characterize Reaganomics. It is a burden of the marketplace system that it is often practiced by men and women of low moral standards. One of the best defenses of capitalism is that much less harm is done by such abusers in the free market than when they find themselves in positions of power within government. When that happens, their mistakes are macrocosmic. Eastern will (one hopes) recover from the treatment Lorenzo gave it. But the United States has not yet recovered from the treatment it got from such as Lyndon Johnson. William Schlamm's apothegm comes to mind: The trouble with socialism is socialism, the trouble with capitalism is capitalists. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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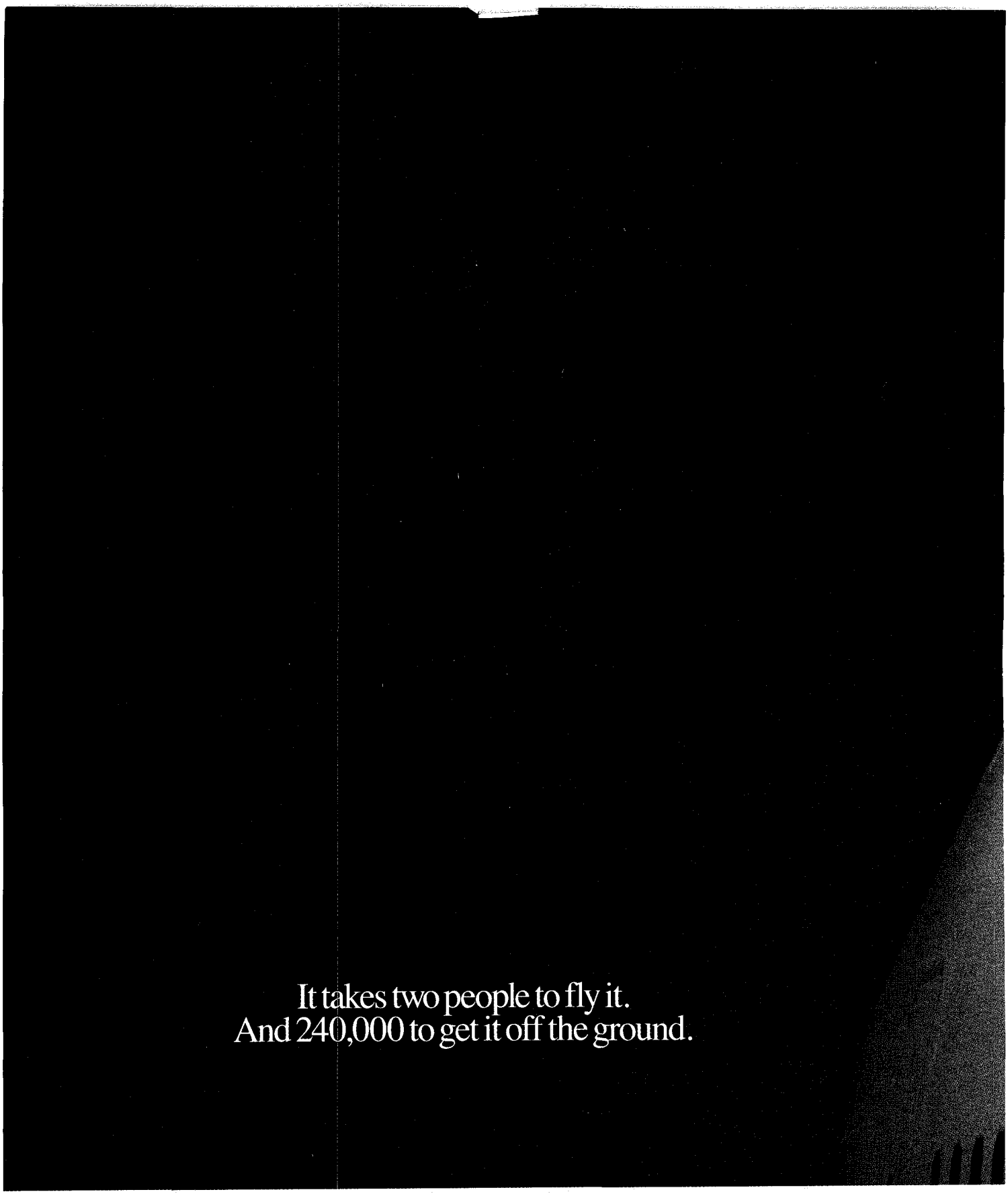

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More than 60,000, for example, at our Commercial Airplane division alone—supported by thousands more at other Boeing divisions.

And for every Boeing employee, there are at least three others working with us at more than 4,000 of our suppliers' plants around the world.

These contractors provide subassemblies, components, materials and subsystems for a multitude of Boeing products. Not to mention a the other things we need to run ou business, from paper clips to preci sion machine tools.

You see, a jetliner is more than

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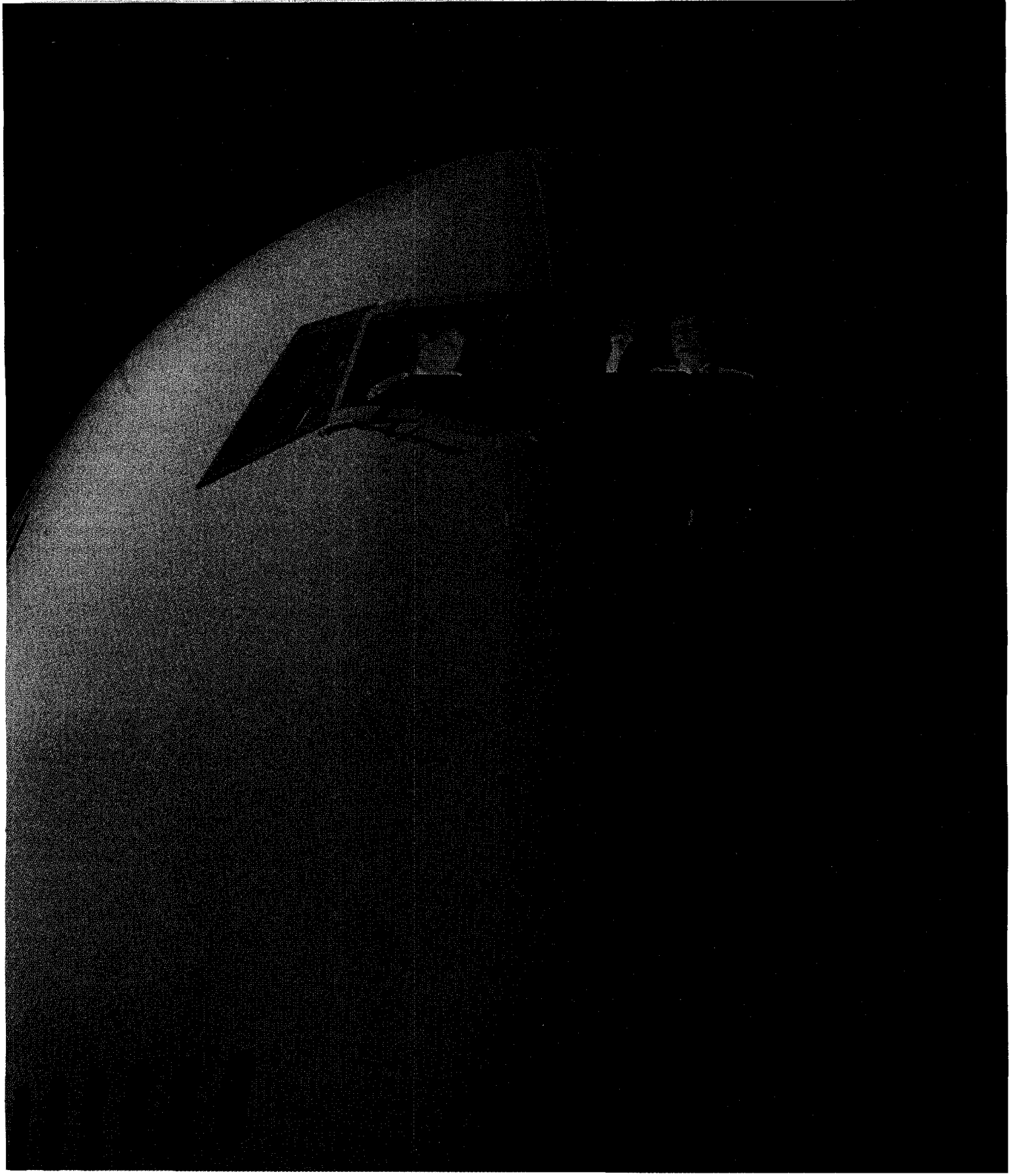

monument to technology. It's a monument to human cooperation.

Because while there may be only two people sitting up front, there are a quarter of a million others standing behind them.

BOEING

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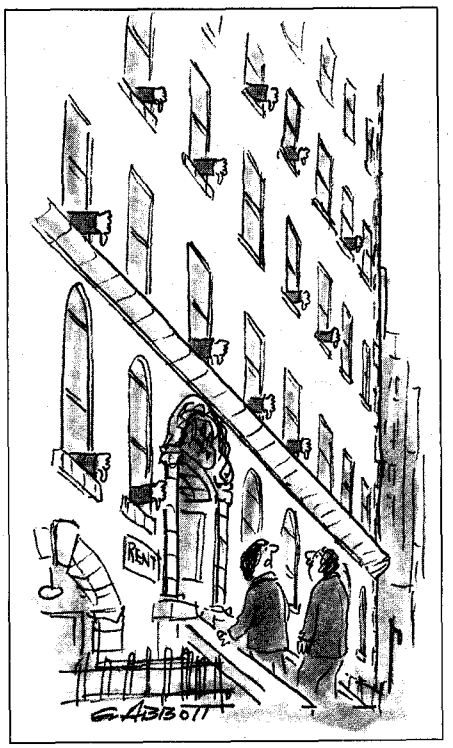
OFF THE RECORD

Jogging Their Memory. One unexpected twist of the just-ended case of the black youths who raped and brutalized the jogger in Central Park was a press release issued by the Third World Caucus of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Formerly concerned with nuclear arms, CLC has expanded its scope to complain about the "racism" of the press, citing as evidence the different coverage accorded the Central Park jogger (an "older European") and Tawana Brawley, the black teenager who became a *cause célèbre* when she fabricated a story about having been kidnapped, raped, and covered with dung by a gang of white racists. As far as Cato can see, the real purpose of the CLC's press release was to get reporters to publish the name of the jogger—featured prominently throughout the release.

Politics of Obscenity. It turns out that one of the chief opponents of restrictions on NEA funding of pornography is not a McGovern Democrat but a Rockefeller Republican. He is Roy Goodman, a state senator from Manhattan, who helped dump conservative gubernatorial candidate Herb London off the GOP ticket earlier this year in favor of Pierre Rinfret. Goodman's other hat is as a member of the National Council on the Arts, the advisory board to the NEA, where he has led the charge against restrictions that would help prevent funding of works like *Piss Christ*.

At the recent Council meeting Mr. Goodman introduced a motion to remove the obscenity language Congress had proposed. When fellow member Jacob Neusner [see "Letters," p. 4] proposed his own set of guidelines—e.g., that the NEA would not fund "any work that is obscene or depicts or describes in a patently offensive way human sexual and excretory activities or organs"—Mr. Goodman rose and delivered a speech in which he said there was "a lot of paranoia at this table." Not exactly the kind of thing likely to lead a Republican renaissance. Incidentally, Mr. Goodman has some friends in high places: his daughter Leslie is press secretary for the Republican National Committee. Clearly a case of "Don't put your daughter on the stage, Mrs. Worthington."

Hello Hanoi. The most dramatic result of the Bush Administration's sudden decision to changes sides in Cambodia (withdrawing recognition of the coalition forces fighting the puppet Vietnamese government there) has been the talks between Washington and Hanoi, the first direct contact since the fall of Saigon 15 years ago. Word is that the talks presage a normalization of relations with Vietnam, a move endorsed even by the Heritage Foundation. But out in Southeast Asia some U.S. officials privately argue that normalizing relations might prop up a Communist regime in desperate straits. They point to reports of large-scale student demonstrations in Danang and Hue earlier this year, coming on top of mass arrests in December. The student protests have not been reported anywhere in the West, but speculation in the region is that Hanoi may become the next domino to fall the other way—and the first one in Asia.



"Mr. Mitchell, you'll find this to be a very exclusive building."

Born Again . . . Almost. D.C. Mayor Marion Barry caused snickers in Washington when he appeared on TV singing "Amazing Grace" after a jury could not reach agreement on the most serious charges against him, including perjury. But he is by no means the only pol to turn to God to shore up a sagging image. Liberal Senator Arlen Specter (R., Pa.) has been trying to mend his own fences in wake of pro-life housewife Peg Luksick's stunning near-victory in the GOP gubernatorial primary earlier this year, a graphic demonstration that many Republican voters think the tent is too big as it is. In any event, the good Senator Specter has recently hired a former Pat Robertson campaign worker, and has been having meetings with various conservatives—even to the point of asking Jerry Falwell to go on a trip with him to the Soviet Union. Nothing turns a pro-choice Republican's thoughts heavenward like the fear that he might face a conservative challenge in the primaries.

Negative Campaigning. Lee Atwater's struggle with cancer is being felt in more ways than one inside the Beltway. Even critics concede that President Bush would never have shot himself in the foot on taxes had Mr. Atwater been consulted. The other side of the aisle has likewise been affected: the Democrats have had to burn a number of commercials scheduled for the fall that had targeted the feisty RNC chairman.

Election Roundup. Insiders say that Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole plans to join her husband in the Senate (not from Kansas, but from North Carolina, opposing Democratic Senator Terry Sanford in 1992), that drug czar Bill Bennett will not run for a Senate seat as a base for a presidential bid, and that Senator Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) has now taken his eye off a Supreme Court seat and is considering a run for the White House come 1996.

—CATO

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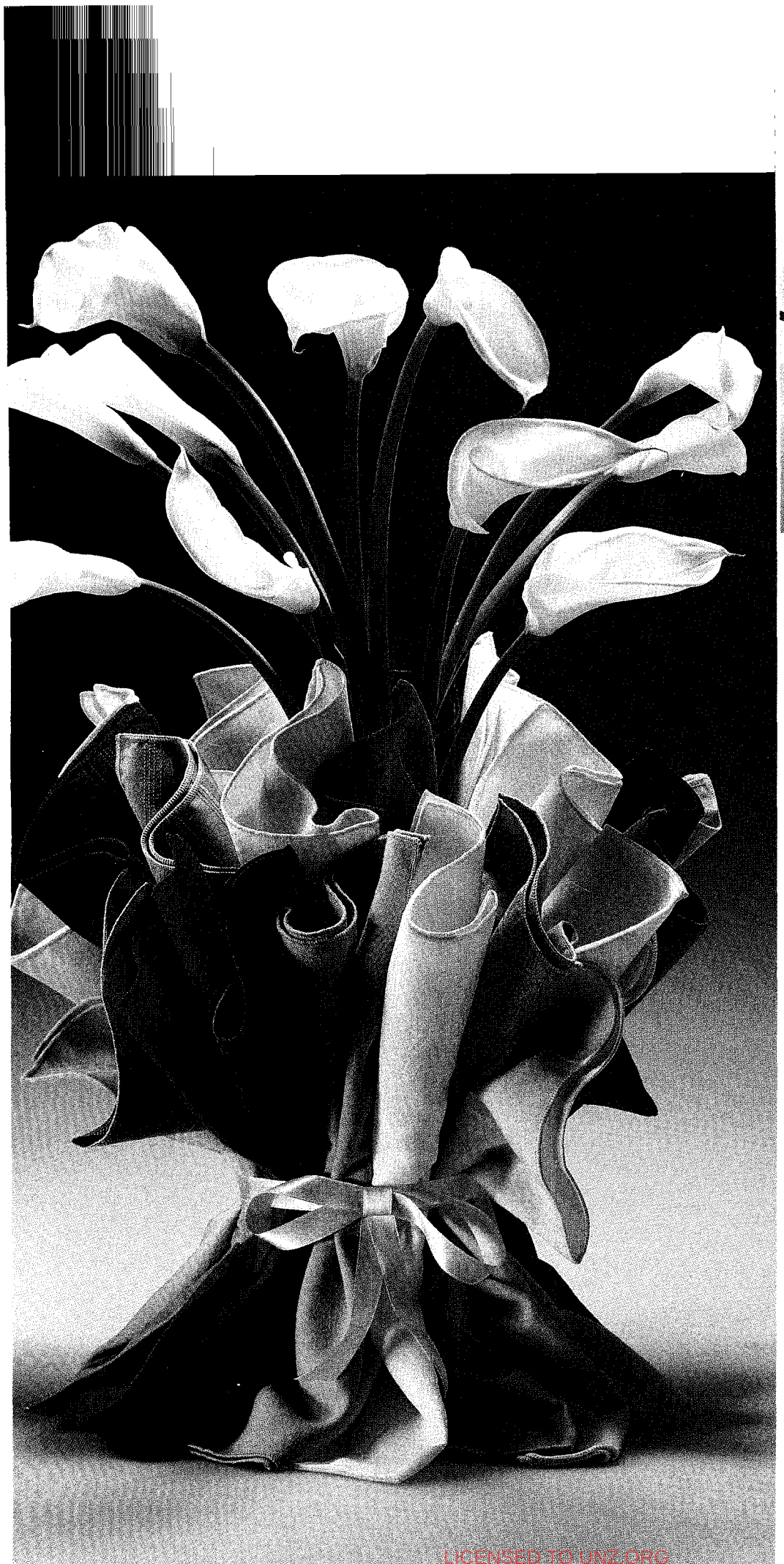

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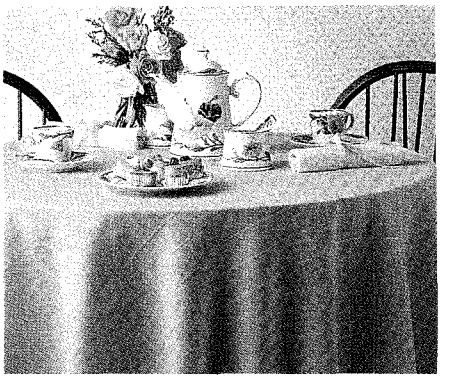

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